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JUNE, 1898

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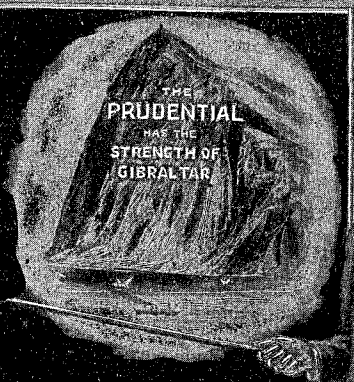

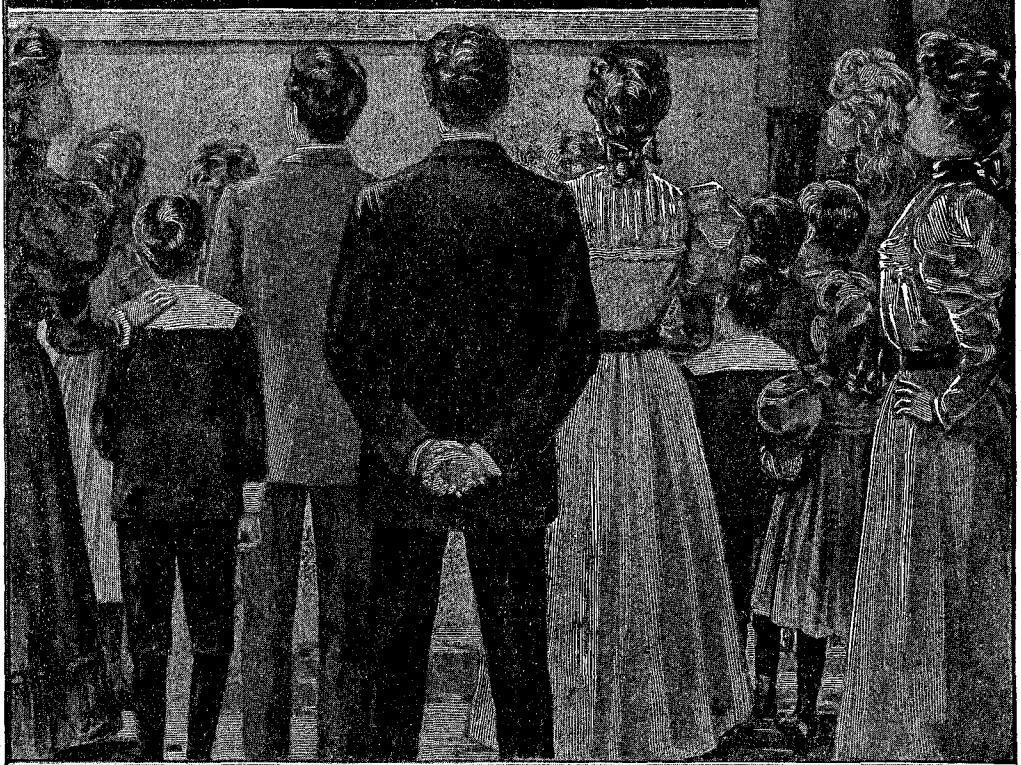

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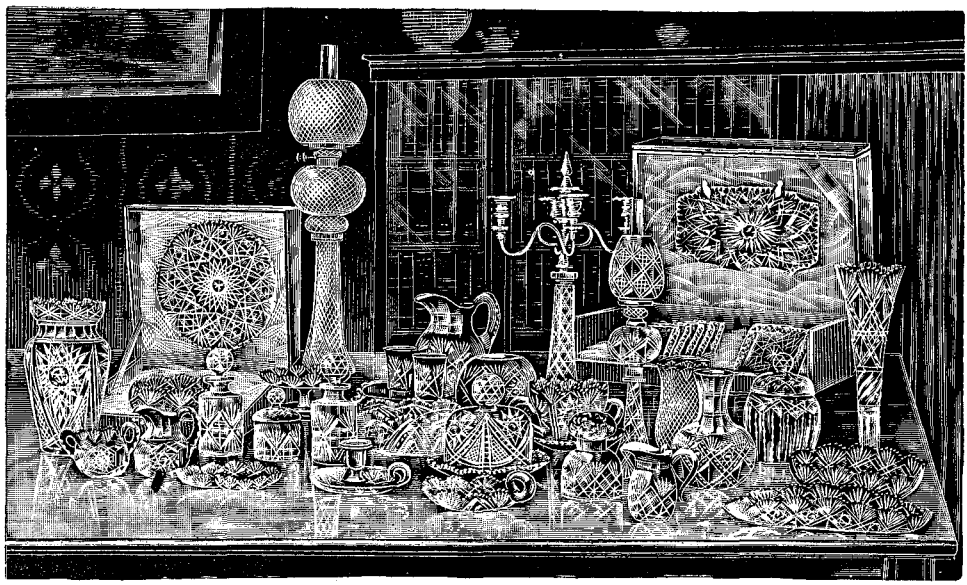

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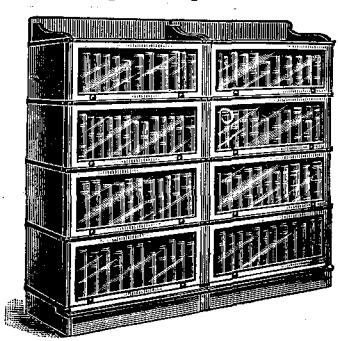

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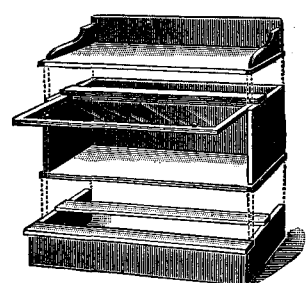

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JUNE, 1898.

OUR WAR WITH SPAIN: ITS JUSTICE AND NECESSITY.

THE United States and Spain are at war with each other. The fact is deplorable; and who is to blame for it is an important question. This question cannot be properly answered without a more extended review of the relations of Spain and the United States to Cuba, and of the character of the war which Spain has been waging there, than can be given in a magazine article. Enough may be said, however, to indicate all this sufficiently for present purposes.

The Island of Cuba has belonged to Spain, with the right to determine its government. It was the duty of Spain, however, to provide a just government, and the right of the Cubans to seek their independence, whether the government provided by Spain was just or unjust. People have a right to be independent and to govern themselves if they so desire; and it is no answer to say that they are already well governed. But when they are unjustly governed and grievously oppressed, this right is accentuated, and their struggle for freedom and self-government naturally and properly commands sympathy as well as respect. Such would be the views of the United States with regard to any case, but especially so with respect to Cuba. That island lies at our door. It belongs to the western hemisphere. It is a part of the American system. The Monroe Doctrine covers and applies to it. On this account no other nation would be allowed by us to interpose in its affairs. England, France, Germany, and all the other Powers so understand. The result is that, whatever responsibility may arise for other nations in respect to the progress of events in Cuba, it is all our own. Our relation

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is special; and our duty is special. With these premises in mind, consider what has happened in Cuba.

The government of the Island by Spain has been, for the last fifty years, of the most arbitrary, unjust, oppressive, and inefficient character. The inhabitants have been practically denied all voice and representation in their affairs; their taxes have been out of all proportion to their ability to pay; and they have been allowed no substantial returns therefor. Educational facilities have been grossly inadequate; there have been no public improvements,—not even ordinary highways,—scarcely more than a pretence of the most ordinary sanitation, and no sufficient protection to either life or property; and yet the revenues exacted in recent years have amounted to about $25,000,000 to $28,000,000 annually. When it is recalled that the total population of the Island, including all classes and nationalities, Cubans, Spaniards, negroes, together with Americans, Europeans, and other foreigners, is but about one and one-half millions,—most of them very poor,—it will be seen how enormously disproportionate the burden is; but it is not until the details of the system of taxation enforced are considered that its insufferable character is made fully manifest.

In addition to heavy taxation upon all classes of real and personal property, the inhabitants are subjected to special taxes and license fees of every character and description. They are taxed upon each window, upon each pane of glass in each window, upon each chimney, and upon each door. Every note, check, bill, draft, receipt, deed, mortgage, or other paper-writing is taxed; and so is every kind of occupation, privilege, right, franchise, and business transaction, even to the entering of a name upon a hotel register. All appeals for relief have been denied; and, instead of showing mercy and help, Spain has grown steadily more heartless, indifferent, and exacting. Her penal laws have been enforced with a cruelty that can scarcely be exaggerated. Executions, banishments, imprisonments, fines, and forfeitures have been appallingly frequent and terrifying in character. Our fathers rebelled for just cause in 1776: the Cubans have a thousand times better cause than they.

In addition, therefore, to the inherent right of independence, the Cuban struggle is a rebellion against tyranny, oppression, robbery, and wrong greater than has ever been endured by any people capable of resistance, and of such a nature as to command the profound sympathy of all who love justice and liberty. It is impossible for any fair and properly informed mind to have the slightest sympathy with Spain in

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her effort to subdue the insurrection, no matter how fairly she may conduct the war in that behalf.

But her wretched government of the Island was but a fitting prelude to the atrocious war that has followed. It has from the beginning been marked with unusual waste, destruction, savagery, and disregard of the rules of civilized warfare; but the climax in this chapter of wickedness was reached when the policy of "reconcentration" was entered upon. The President, in his Annual Message of December 6, 1897, justly characterized it as a policy of extermination. Such it was; and such it was intended to be. The order inaugurating this policy was promulgated by Gen. Weyler on February 16, 1897; but it had been doubtless previously approved—as it was subsequently and repeatedly—by the Spanish Government. It required the *pacificos* to forsake their homes, and the peaceful pursuits whereby they were supporting themselves, and be concentrated in the outskirts of the cities, towns, and villages, where men, women, and children were huddled together under military guard, thousands in a place, with a monstrous inadequacy of food, clothing, shelter, and sanitary conditions. The evident purpose was the natural result. In one year more than two hundred thousand of the victims perished, and more than two hundred thousand others were brought so near to death that most of them will not recover.

The immeasurable inhumanity of this proceeding is not fully appreciated until it is remembered that these people, who were thus deliberately tortured to death, were the subjects of Spain,—not one of them had ever raised a hand against her,—who, whatever their sympathies may have been, remained loyal to the Crown, and were entitled to its protection. They were not insurgents, but *pacificos;* not enemies, but citizens; not a disturbing element, but a quiet, peaceful, law-abiding, and self-supporting peasantry, who had done no wrong to anybody. In all the history of the world there is nothing that approaches their treatment in unprovoked fiendishness and sickening horror. Day after day, for week after week and month after month, the awful story of anguish, misery, and death, with its shocking details, was told to our Government by our faithful Consular officials in Cuba. When that correspondence is published, and all the facts are made known, it will excite the wonder of Christendom that we should have endured such conditions so long and so patiently.

There are other facts to be taken into account in judging the course and final action of the United States. When the war commenced there were many American citizens residing in Cuba, and engaged in business

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there. They owned more than fifty millions' worth of property, all which has been practically destroyed without fault on their part. Many of them have been arrested, imprisoned, and subjected to gross hardships and indignities, and some of them, like Dr. Ruiz, have been brutally murdered, all in violation of treaty rights; and, although thereunto duly requested, Spain has evaded and denied every demand for reparation, or even apology, whether for property, liberty, or life.

When the war commenced we had a trade with Cuba amounting to about $100,000,000 annually. This trade has been destroyed.

The American people naturally sympathize with all who struggle for liberty and independence, but especially with those who are of this hemisphere and our immediate neighbors. The struggle of the Cubans has been so heroic, and against such odds and wrongs, that it has excited the greatest interest and admiration. It has also produced corresponding disquiet among our people, and has made necessary a constant, heavy expense, amounting to several millions of dollars in the aggregate, in order to police our coasts and, in the interest of Spain, enforce our neutrality laws. It would be unreasonable to expect us to submit indefinitely to such burdens and to such injuries to our citizens and their business. We had a right, therefore, to seek to bring about a termination of the struggle. We were an interested party. Our interest was second only to that of Spain. Therefore, on April 6, 1896, we tendered our friendly offices to Spain as a mediator. She rejected them; and the war continued. This tender was renewed by President McKinley, and with the same result.

At length Canovas was assassinated and Sagasta came into power. The latter recognized our interest and our right to relief. He also recognized and acknowledged that the policy of Spain should be reversed. He accordingly promised to institute all proper reforms, both in the prosecution of the war and in the civil government of the Island, and asked that he be given a reasonable time in which to carry his reforms into effect. It was accorded him; but there was no reform, nor any change for the better. On the contrary, the cause of Spain grew day by day more helpless and desperate, until all reasonable hope or expectation of success was gone; while the cause of the insurgents correspondingly improved. Autonomy was a failure, starvation went on, waste and desolation continued, and all to no purpose.

It became difficult for us to maintain friendly relations with Spain. Finally, to relieve the tension and bring about a better feeling, the "Maine" was sent to Havana, and Spain was invited to send one of her

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ships to New York. When the "Maine" reached Havana she was taken in charge by a Spanish official, the Harbor Pilot, and by him stationed at a place where, without warning, she, with two hundred and sixty-six of her officers and crew, was blown up and destroyed by a submarine mine. Submarine mines are acknowledged governmental implements of war. They are not at any time handled by private individuals; and, at the time and place in question, it was a crime punishable by death for any person to be found even in possession of any kind of an explosive. These considerations make it a very strong *prima facie* case—almost conclusive—that the "Maine" was blown up purposely, and by Spanish officials; for it is manifest, as stated by Gen. Lee in his evidence before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that no novice exploded the mine, but a skilled expert, who possessed not only all the facts as to its location and mechanism, but the requisite technical knowledge as well.

Spain recognized the case against her, and sought to escape liability. She disavowed the affair, and undertook to prove her innocence. She might have proved that there were no mines in Havana harbor if such had been the fact; for she had full control of all the evidence on the subject. She could have called whom she pleased; but she took no testimony on that point. All her efforts were in one direction—that of showing that the explosion was within the ship, and an accident. Her Naval Board of Inquiry so found. One fact, conclusively established by our Board of Inquiry, destroys this finding. The bottom of the ship was blown upward, and was found bent from beneath into the shape of an inverted V. No such result could have been produced by an explosion from within: this is self-evident. It completely destroys the accident theory and, with it, the only defence that Spain has sought to make, or ever can make. In view of this it is wholly immaterial what particular person, or persons, pressed the button that exploded the mine. The commanding fact remains that our ship and sailors were destroyed by a governmental agency of war for which Spain was as much responsible as she was for the guns in her forts. It, therefore, follows that not only the act of destruction, but also the act of placing us in danger without warning, was an act of war; and we should have been justified in opening fire on Morro Castle the moment we found the keel-plates on the deck of the ship. But we did not do so. We did what scarcely any other nation would have done. We waited nearly two months for an official report; and then the President politely submitted all these criminating facts to Spain and asked her

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what she would do about them; not doubting, to use his own language, "that the sense of justice of the Spanish nation will dictate a course of action suggested by honor and the friendly relations of the two Governments."

If there was any definite suggestion in this sentence it was, at the most, a prolonged diplomatic controversy resulting ultimately in an international arbitration; and that was not satisfactory. Hence it was that at this point patience seemed to be exhausted, and the Congress gave unmistakable evidence that diplomatic negotiations must cease, and some kind of decisive action be taken to end the war, stop starvation, give the Cubans their independence, and suitably avenge the "Maine." Numerous resolutions were introduced, and were referred to appropriate committees. All were given careful consideration; but no action was taken until the President, in his Message of April 11, submitted his views and made his recommendations. He traced the course of events in Cuba, gave an account of his negotiations with Spain, told how he had exhausted diplomacy without avail, and, therefore, committed the whole subject to the Congress for such action as it might see fit to take. His recommendation was as follows:

"I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the Island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order, and of observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity, and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes."

Upon this presentation of the case, as well as upon all this painful history and these influencing facts, relations, and doctrines, the Congress finally, on April 18, 1898, adopted the following resolutions:

"First.—That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second.—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third.—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth.—That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people."

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Was such action justifiable? In answering this question it is not necessary to discuss what was not done further than may be necessary in order to throw light on the grounds for what was done.

There were many who believed that a declaration of war on account of the "Maine" was the simplest, most justifiable, and most logical action to take; but they were overruled.

There were many who thought that the whole subject should be recommitted to the President, as he had recommended, with power to take such measures as he might deem necessary to end the war, and to establish a stable government in the Island, using the army and navy therefor, if necessary; but they also were overruled.

It was the majority sentiment that (1) there should not be any further diplomatic negotiations; (2) that it was not competent for the Congress to delegate the war-making power to the President, to be used at his discretion in a certain contingency, to wit, the failure of further negotiations ("measures"); and (3) that the Congress was without power to establish a government in a foreign country, for a foreign people, "stable" or otherwise, and that it could not empower the President to do so, and that it would not be good policy to do so, if it could.

For these and other reasons, the President's recommendation in these particulars was not followed; and, instead, the resolutions already quoted were adopted.

On the grounds cited in the preamble—which is an epitomized statement of the whole case—the Congress, by the second and third resolutions adopted, demanded that Spain at once relinquish her authority, and withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and empowered and directed the President to use the land and naval forces, if necessary, to carry the resolutions into effect.

It will be observed that these resolutions cut off all further negotiation. Their mere passage was the demand. In the event of refusal by Spain to withdraw, they left no room for discretion. The President was directed and empowered in such case to employ, at once, the army and navy in the enforcement of the demand. The resolutions had the merit of brevity, explicitness, and unquestioned validity. No exercise of any doubtful or indefinite authority or power was provided for. The beginning and ending of the whole matter was the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards from Cuba. The door was shut against all further propositions of mediation or intervention looking to autonomy, or the continued sovereignty of Spain in the Island on any terms. The resolutions meant the absolute and unqualified independence of the

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Cubans, with the right to establish their own government without let or hinderance from us or anybody else; and they saved us from the perils and responsibilities of establishing a government. That whole subject was left in the hands of the people to whom it belongs. Consistent with all this were the fourth resolution, disclaiming all intentions of acquisition, and the first resolution, declaring that the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

The first resolution was of the highest importance, and was accordingly made the subject of much earnest discussion. The chief insistence of those who opposed it was, however, simply that it declared what was not true. In this behalf they claimed, in all possible forms of speech, that war was still in progress in the Island; that the Spanish army still occupied the fortified cities and all the seaports; and that, if the Cubans were already free and independent, it would not be necessary for us to intervene. To all this it was answered that a people could be free and independent, in the international sense, without having exclusive control of all their country; and that the presence of an enemy in the midst of them was not a test. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war the German army occupied Paris; but nobody ever thought of denying that the French people were internationally free and independent on that account. Similarly it was argued that though the people of Cuba had not driven the Spaniards out of the Island, yet they had resisted the Spanish arms successfully, that Spain was no longer attended with a reasonable hope or expectation of success in her effort to regain her lost sovereignty, and that our whole proceeding was based on the theory that Spain, by her misgovernment and bad conduct, had forfeited not only her sovereignty, but also her right to regain it; for which reason we were proposing to drive her out. The effect of that would be to leave the Cubans free; for, if Spain had lost authority, there was none in the Island, except such as the Cubans might impose upon themselves,—all of which was only another way of saying that they were free and independent. It was further insisted that if, according to the requirements of international law in ordinary cases, there was anything lacking to make the Cubans internationally free and independent, it was supplied by the resolutions to be passed, because, by those resolutions, intervention was provided for; and that meant the unquestioned freedom and independence of Cuba to all who believed in our success. If Spain should retire on demand, the case was clear: if she remained to fight, the result was the same in practical effect, although for a time postponed; while the legal effect would occur immediately, so

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far as we were concerned, because we should be compelled to recognize the insurgents as our natural allies and coöperate with them, and we could not do that and at the same time continue to treat with them as Spanish subjects.

A further argument was based on the fact that the armed intervention proposed was regarded as of such nature that, if Spain refused to abdicate, war would immediately follow, and a declaration to that effect would be necessary, as proved to be the case; but that a declaration of war against Spain would be a declaration of war against all her subjects everywhere. The people of Cuba, including the insurgents, were Spanish subjects in law, and would remain so, in our view, as well as that of Spain and the rest of the world, until we recognized their independence. A declaration of war against Spain, therefore, would be a declaration of war against the Cubans as well as everybody else belonging to Spain; and consequently, as a war measure, and as one of the necessities of the case, at least the people of Cuba should be recognized as independent. This view prevailed. It prevailed because it was justified by the facts, and was made necessary as a collateral proposition by the chief proposition of intervention. Independence must go hand in hand with intervention.

For the same reasons, as well as others, the Republic of Cuba should have been recognized as the true and lawful government of the Island. The progress of events will not only make this manifest, but will shortly compel such recognition, practically, if not formally. The chief objection was stated by the President, as follows:

> "In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government. We would be required to submit to its direction and to assume to it the mere relation of a friendly ally."

A complete answer to this suggestion, in the minds of those who favored such recognition, was found in the fact that, according to all international-law writers, an intervening Power never takes orders from anybody, and in the further fact that the whole situation was of such a character as emphatically to negative the idea that the Cuban Republic, or Gen. Gomez, would embarrass us by the assertion of any such right. This is all that need be said upon that point now.

In this way the question narrowed itself down to whether or not we were justified, under all the circumstances, in demanding that Spain retire from Cuba, and, upon her refusal, in proceeding to eject her by force of arms.

The general rule established by international law is non-interven-

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tion; but the exceptions to this rule have been so often repeated, and on such various grounds, that intervention has become a well-recognized right, if not, in some instances, an acknowledged obligation.

Prof. Lawrence, in his admirable work on "The Principles of International Law," after discussing the right of intervention on the ground of self-interest, says, with special reference to cruelties on account of religion:—

> "Should the cruelty be so long-continued and so revolting that the best instincts of human nature are outraged by it, and should an opportunity arise for bringing it to an end and removing its cause without adding fuel to the flame of the contest, there is nothing in the law of nations which will condemn, as a wrongdoer, the state which steps forward and undertakes the necessary intervention. Each case must be judged on its own merits. . . . I have no right to enter my neighbor's garden without his consent; but, if I saw a child of his robbed and ill treated in it by a tramp, I should throw ceremony to the winds, and rush to the rescue without waiting to ask permission." (P. 120.)

In concluding his discussion of the subject, Lawrence says:—

> "They [Nations] should intervene very sparingly, and only on the clearest grounds of justice and necessity; but when they do intervene, they should make it clear to all concerned that their voice must be attended to and their wishes carried out." (P. 135.)

All the authorities are to the same general effect.

Applying these rules, the war in Cuba has been of long duration. It is more than three years now since it commenced; and the present is but a resumption and continuation of the ten years' war that ended by the Treaty of Zanjon in 1878. The struggle has been attended by unusual cruelties from the beginning; and the one feature of intentional extermination by starvation of the unoffending non-combatants, to the number of hundreds of thousands, is so inhuman and shocking, and has been now so long continued that, without regard to the commercial and property interests involved, we have "the clearest grounds of justice and necessity" for intervention ever presented.

In the language of Historicus,[1] it is a case where intervention is "a high act of policy above and beyond the domain of law"—which is the equivalent of saying that it has the most sacred sanction of law.

We were justified, therefore, in intervening; and it was our duty, when we did intervene, adopting the words above quoted, to make it clear to all concerned that our voice must be attended to and our wishes carried out.

The resolutions authorizing our intervention meet all these require-

[1] "Letters on Some Questions of International Law.—I."

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ments, and do not go beyond. We could not do less than they propose and do our duty. Under all the circumstances we delayed action longer than we should, and have been less harsh and exacting than we might have been.

Spain lost her sovereignty by her own misrule; and she lost all opportunity to retire with dignity and honor, by obstinately refusing the kindest and most generous offers of mediation and by failing to heed repeated and unmistakable warnings of the inevitable. She had a *legal* right to treat our intervention as an act of war; but she had no *moral* right to do so. She has been in the wrong and at fault from the beginning. The trouble commenced in her own house. She made it a general nuisance, and persisted in so maintaining it long after she had been notified that it had become insufferable. Now, when she has forfeited all the respect of others, and all her rights, and when ejection has become necessary, she resents it as an act of war, and appeals to the world for sympathy. So far, she has not received any; and it is to be hoped she will not. But, however that may be, our only course was to meet war with war. It is a justly dreaded necessity, but not without some compensations. The spirit of patriotism that has been aroused will stir the life-blood of the nation, quicken human activities, and efface sectional divisions. Whether the struggle be long or short, we shall emerge from it stronger, more united, and more respected than ever before.

J. B. FORAKER.

April 28, 1897.

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THE HULL ARMY BILL.

OURS is the only government on earth willing to go from peace to war without making the slightest preparation. Our people boast of the large force of patriotic citizens ready to fight our battles, and forget that, no matter how numerous or how brave our citizen soldiery may be, their efficiency, without organization or arms, on the field of battle would not prove satisfactory to the nation. Fortunately our war with Spain gave us time to organize a land force before the necessity for its active employment became imperative. When the Congress passed the joint resolutions for Cuban freedom,—virtually a declaration of war,—this great nation had no land force worthy of the name; even what it had was handicapped by laws which compelled the organization of the army to be formed on obsolete and utterly inefficient models.

Intelligent officers of the army have long realized the danger of delay in making our regular army a model of perfect organization which could be followed by the organized militia of the States. Grant and Sherman were solicitous that Congress should act. In Sherman's last report as General of the Army he renewed his former recommendations for reorganizing

"the infantry into three battalions, so that each shall be composed of twelve companies; making three battalions of four companies each . . . the National Guard and volunteers of the States would soon follow such organization; and we would have throughout the country these small, handy battalions of four companies, instead of the large, cumbersome regiments of ten companies,—a bad tactical unit, and in practice always scattered."

Sheridan, in 1884 and 1885, as General of the Army, vigorously urged Congress to add two companies to each infantry regiment, and provide for the three-battalion organization.

The Secretary of War, in his Report for 1889, says:

"Nearly every warlike Power has adopted the three-battalion formation for infantry. Persia, China, and the United States are almost alone in adhering to the single-battalion system. The necessity for this formation in the infantry is even greater than in the cavalry and artillery, where it has long been the rule. The reason for the change, always strong, has now, in view of the greater deployment necessary because of the improvements in small-arms, become imperative.

Twelve years ago the report to Congress of officers sent to investigate the

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armies of Europe and Asia, and to suggest what changes should be made in our army to modernize and perfect it, strongly urged the adoption of this system. Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan have recommended it, and it is favored by the leading officers in our present service. From a military standpoint the question does not seem to require evidence or argument, but merely examination and action. With this change and the elimination of the extra first lieutenants of artillery, the organization of the three arms of the service will be, as it should be, uniform and upon one harmonious basis."

China changed after the war with Japan.

Again, in 1890, the Secretary of War strongly urged the reorganization of the infantry, saying, among other things:

"As a military question there is no difference of opinion as to the advisability and necessity of the three-battalion formation for infantry. Every European Power has adopted it; and all of the leading generals of our country—including Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan—have recommended it. Now that our small army can be stationed in larger posts, the conditions of service are fully suited to its use. It already prevails in the other arms of the service, and there are even stronger reasons for it in the infantry; besides, all ought to be uniform. If we were ever met by a military contingency, we should then be forced to adopt it, and without proper preparation."

The following occurs in the Report of the Secretary of War for 1891:

"The question of the three-battalion organization for the infantry has been before Congress, and an account of the great defects of the present system must necessarily be the subject of discussion until remedied by legislation.

. . . . . .

The single-battalion organization of infantry is radically defective and unfit for actual service under present conditions. During the period since the Civil War our infantry organization has remained unchanged, and is now, in respect to the single-battalion feature, obsolete. It is so vicious that the first step, in case of war, must be to abolish it and start anew. It cannot be amended or modified; it is unwieldy, incapable of subdivision either to make or meet attack under methods now prevailing; and the situation grows worse with every improvement of arms. The development of range, rapidity, and accuracy of fire of modern arms has been so great that a smaller and more flexible battalion is essential; for this development makes celerity in handling troops on the field a prime necessity."

The Secretary of War's Report for 1892 says:

"Since the present organization of our infantry was adopted, many changes have taken place in the art of war, resulting, among other things, in a material modification of the form of infantry regiments. Our stationary condition in this respect has left us with an obsolete organization."

The Secretary of War's Report for 1894 contains the following:

"The organization of the line of the army has undergone no material change since the close of the Civil War. During this period of thirty years every large foreign army has been completely reorganized. Changes and improvements in arms, ammunition, and equipments have forced upon the leading strategists and tacticians of the great armies of the world the necessity of a broad departure from the old systems. All have adopted the battalion as the tactical unit for infantry.

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Should our army ever be brought into collision with disciplined foreign troops, our present formation would prove so defective as to turn the scale against us in a conflict on terms otherwise equal."

I have given but the briefest extracts from my Report to the Fifty-fourth Congress; and my only excuse for taking up so much space with them is to show that the War Department is not open to criticism for the shameful neglect to provide for the public defence. It seems incredible that Congress should so persistently refuse to do its duty. But even that is not so strange as to find leading members of the House of Representatives within the last month criticising the army for not having a modern formation, when the law made it impossible.

Some four years ago I became interested in this question; and when, as a result of the elections of 1894, I succeeded to the chairmanship of the Committee on Military Affairs, I at once undertook to secure the passage of a reorganization Bill. There was no trouble with the Committee in the Fifty-fourth Congress; and we promptly reported what is called the Lamont Bill. It added two regiments of artillery, made necessary by our coast defences, and reorganized the infantry into three battalions. The total of the enlisted force of the army under this Bill was 30,000,—an increase of only 5,000 men. The Bill never had a chance of becoming law. There seemed to be a deep-seated conviction that 30,000 men, enlisted from citizens of the Republic, would be a menace to the liberty of 70,000,000 of their fellow-citizens. The heroic service of the army in defending our frontier and blazing the way for our settlers, and the brave battles fought by our army in every war since its organization, should have been sufficient to allay such fears. The reflection on the courage of our people, made by the charge that so small an army could ever become dangerous to the nation, had no weight.

When the Fifty-fifth Congress was organized the work of securing reorganization of the army was again taken up, but on different lines. It was based on a three-battalion formation, but provided that, in time of peace, in the infantry arm of the service only two battalions should be organized; two companies of each regiment to remain skeletonized; and two companies of the third battalion to be unorganized. This made no change in the enlisted strength of the army in time of peace, except the addition of twenty-five majors. The bill followed the recommendation of the best military experts, by providing in time of war for the expansion of infantry companies from about sixty men to one hundred and fifty, and a possible two hundred and fifty men; left the

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cavalry company at one hundred men; made the heavy artillery company two hundred men, and the light artillery one hundred and seventy-three men. In time of war, the President was authorized to organize the third battalion of infantry. On the conclusion of peace, the enlisted strength of the army was to be reduced to the number then authorized by law, which, with the two new regiments of artillery, authorized by a separate Bill, amounted to 26,610 men.

If the Bill had passed when first before the House, it would have been much more effective, valuable time would have been saved, and before May 1 our army could have driven the Spaniards out of Cuba. But the National Guard became violently excited. Without waiting to learn the true object of the Bill, the Guard officers of many States commenced a war, not only on the Bill, but also on the chairman of the Committee; and telegrams and letters were at once sent to members of Congress urging them to defeat the Hull Bill. Neither arguments nor reason could stem the tide. Members would state that they knew nothing about the merits of the Bill, but that they had a telegram from a general or colonel of their Guard urging them to defeat it; and no amendment or concession on my part would avail. The opinions of Grant, Sherman, Schofield, and Miles did not have the slightest weight when put in the balance against an officer of the State militia. The great generals had no votes; the militia officer had votes back of him with which to enforce his demands.

I was greatly discouraged, but concluded to make one more effort, and to begin on militia officers. So I telegraphed to the Governors of the States where the greatest opposition was found, to send to Washington the best Guard or militia officer for conference on army matters. Most of the Governors complied with my request; and, as I remember now, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Maryland were represented. These officers soon found that in case of war their superior State organization would be worthless to them, as, under the Federal law, volunteer regiments must conform to the regular army organization before they could be mustered into the service. A conference was also held at the War Department. Secretary Alger asked for a vote on the Bill which I submitted; and it was unanimously voted that it should at once become law.

The main contention has been over the infantry arm of the service; but a violent opposition to the seemingly large increase of the artillery companies has also been developed. There was no attempt to change the organization of the artillery arm, as none is needed. The fight was on

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the increased number of men in a company. The men who had fought in the Civil War believed that there was no sense in the increase. Batteries, they claimed, had been well handled in the Civil War with only half as many men in a battery. They did not know of the wonderful changes that had occurred in artillery; and few, if any, had ever seen one of our great disappearing coast-defence guns. In the sixties, heavy batteries could be managed by a few men, while now it takes eleven sergeants, five corporals, and sixty-six privates for one relief of two 10-inch or 12-inch guns. In time of war, trained men must guard these great guns day and night, or we might as well abandon the theory of coast defence. Two minutes' delay in firing at a ship going at a speed of even sixteen miles an hour will defeat all chance to render the shot effective. Lieut. Wilcox, a most accomplished young artillery officer, was called in, and, among other things, said:

"The proposed organization is imperatively necessary, however, for other and different reasons. Few people realize the vast amount of preparation necessary to fire a shot so that it will strike the target. The gun must be served and aimed, of course; but not only that, it must while in action be continuously supplied with ammunition. This ammunition must first be prepared. But this is not all. A shot that misses is worse than a shot wasted, and so the most accurate information possible must be obtained in order to aim the piece as it should be aimed, if we would hit the enemy's ship. This information is furnished, as everyone knows, by the range-finders; and the range-finder service calls not only for the observers themselves, but for telegraph and telephone operators, to transmit the observations to the guns. Furthermore, these observations will have to be immediately applied to the determination of the probable direction of motion of the vessel—the usual case in action between ships and forts. The list of auxiliary services is not yet exhausted, however.

In a first-class sea-coast work a very considerable use of power, whether steam, electric, or water, will have to be made. We must then have the necessary personnel for handling the power. To illustrate: If we use steam, we must have engineers and firemen; if electricity in addition to the steam generators, we must have electricians for the dynamos, search and other electric lights, and for the electric appliances in general; and, in general, a modern high-power gun being in reality a machine, it is clear that each battery must have machinists able to keep the carriages and other mechanical appliances in condition and to repair them when necessary. Each of the auxiliary duties mentioned must have its special detail of men, and each, moreover, must have two reliefs, just as the men serving the actual piece. One engineer, for example, could not be expected to be in attendance continually upon his engine.

So far only the fighting elements of the battery have been brought forward; but there are others quite as important and quite as necessary to the efficiency of the battery. The men must be fed and clothed; their material wants in general provided for; the position must be guarded and policed; the barracks and public property generally cared for; and all these duties must be performed without trenching on the fighting-strength of the battery, for otherwise it will not reach its highest efficiency, and it is the highest efficiency that the country expects and is entitled to expect."

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The light battery was also fully explained; and all opposition to this branch of the subject disappeared. The country at large should understand that a raw recruit is of little use in a coast-defence battery. It takes months, even under most skilful officers, to educate men in this branch of the service; and if Congress will not increase the artillery arm of the service in time of peace, we may as well cut off further improvement in our coast defence. To spend a hundred million dollars in erecting great batteries, and then to have no one competent to manage them, is a folly too great to be tolerated.

So far as organization of regiments was concerned, this Bill, as it finally became law, was identical with the first. The companies are the same, except that in the infantry arm the enlisted men of a company should be 106. In officers it was the same, except that a second lieutenant was provided for each company of infantry when recruited to 150, and two extra lieutenants, in place of one, were given to each battery. These changes could have been easily made in the first Bill on the floor. In fact, in opening the debate, I suggested that, if the infantry company were considered to be too large, I would not oppose an amendment. When the Bill again came before the House, there was but little opposition; and it is now law.

One provision of the bill has proved unfortunate. A proviso to Section 3 says, among other things, that volunteer companies shall contain, "so far as practicable," the number of enlisted men authorized in this Act for each arm of the service. I supposed the word "practicable" would mean substantially the same number; but the Governors of States did not wish to leave out any regiment of the organized militia, and, by bringing the entire force of the Congressional delegations of their States to bear on the War Department, secured a rule that even sixty-five men to a company was a compliance with the law. The result is a much larger number of regiments than should have been organized, and less efficiency. All writers agree that two-thirds of the strength of a company is all that can be counted on as available; so that with a company of sixty-five privates, it will not be possible, as a rule, to put more than forty men on the fighting-line. This makes an enormously expensive organization. A regiment twelve hundred strong costs no more in officers than one of eight hundred, and is much more efficient. I hope that, before we have another war, this evil will be corrected.

Another Bill passed by this Congress provides for the organization of volunteers. It is a permanent law. The two Bills will hereafter

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enable the President in time of war to organize at once an army, by expanding the regular army to 61,000, and by calling into the service as many volunteers as he may desire, without awaiting the slow action of Congress.

The Reorganization Bill is not what it should have been; but it is a great improvement on anything the country has ever had. The three battalions should be organized in peace as well as in war; and the infantry should have three majors.

I sincerely hope that the result of bringing the National Guard into the national service will show the necessity of having the regular army so organized that every State will conform to that organization. If this be done, the volunteers can be mustered into the United States service as organized; and all the friction and jealousy and delay now experienced will be avoided.

JOHN A. T. HULL.

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CUBA, AND ITS VALUE AS A COLONY.

It is interesting to consider the exact value of the island which this country, notwithstanding several offers of purchase, and in the face of ultimate destiny, has officially declared it does not wish to acquire, and on whose account it is now involved in a war that may cost many millions.

To convey a correct impression of the natural and economic conditions of the tropical and South American countries and their inhabitants, is a difficult task. We judge these neighbors by the standards of our own customs and occupations, which are those of an entirely different environment. The climate, geological structure, products of the soil, and configuration of these lands—upon which culture depends—are so different from our own, and so misunderstood, that I approach the subject in hand with diffidence.

We are prone vaguely to class together all the peoples and vast countries of the American Mediterranean beyond the borders of the United States. Yet nowhere in the world are so many extremes of natural conditions, population, and government to be found. In this region, as elsewhere, configuration and fertility of soil are the first considerations that influence productivity; while the quality of political organization conditions the degree of civilization. Nowhere do localities present such contrasts. Here are lands which have grown up through the agency of the coral-reef builders, eminences piled up by vast volcanic extrusions, high plateaus, and mountain ridges of the lifted and folded sediments of the ocean's floor, each of which, together with modifications of altitude and climate, produces a soil differing from the others in agricultural and economic possibilities. The reef-veneered Barbados, the volcanic areas of Central America and the Windward Islands, and the high, arid plateau of Mexico, respectively, are types of these contrasting lands; while the Great Antilles are peculiar combinations of all.

There is an impression that the peoples of these countries are either negro or Spanish, and that despotism or anarchy, due to the character of the inhabitants rather than to environment and administration, are the prevalent political conditions. In these heterogeneous conceptions

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the predominantly Indian population of Mexico, the negroes of Haiti, and the white Creoles of the islands are indiscriminately considered together. The truth is that this region, more than any other part of the world, presents a remarkable example of the combined influences upon mankind of geography, race, and government, and is practically a great sociological laboratory, where many human species are being differentiated.

It is true that some people of Spanish descent, in countries like Colombia, Honduras, and San Salvador,—where population is scattered and separated by topographic obstacles fatal to the establishment of strong governments,—are normally in revolt. There are other Spanish-American republics which, in comparison with the government of the European country from which they seceded, are fair models of stability and prosperity, such as Costa Rica,—where capital punishment has been abolished,—which is normally as peaceful as Acadia, and boasts that it has never had a war. Argentina and Chile are also countries worthy of consideration; while the gigantic strides by which Mexico, since freed from European interference, has changed from a land of revolution and banditti to the home of a prosperous, industrial, and commercial nation, present one of the most gratifying spectacles of the closing years of the century.

The conditions of the tropical countries in which the negro race prevails are better than is generally supposed. The experience of the Haitians causes us to overlook the fact that other negro populations, such as those of Jamaica and Barbados,—where the blacks outnumber the whites in the proportion of 50 to 1,—under beneficent English colonial control, present most orderly examples. The Haitians, however, have made more progress than is usually credited to them. Of these tropical countries and peoples, we are now chiefly concerned with Cuba, with a secondary interest in Porto Rico—the only islands of the West Indies where the white race has become acclimated and numerically dominant, and whose political administrations have been most disturbed, despite their superior natural resources.

Cuba is the fairest and most fertile of the tropical lands; and, by its economic development during the four centuries of European occupation, has fully justified the title, "The Pearl of the Antilles," first given to it by Columbus. Its capital still deserves the motto of its coat of arms, "The Key of the New World." So far as wealth and lay of soil are concerned, Cuba is superior to the rest of the tropical lands, with the possible exception of Porto Rico. It has but a small propor-

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tion of untillable declivities and rocky areas, such as are found in New England; no fields of sterile, volcanic débris, such as occur in the Central American lands; no arid areas, like those which make up so large a proportion of Mexico and the western half of the United States; no stretches of sterile, sandy lands, like those of Florida and other coastal Southern States. Its proportion of swamp-lands is less than that of the average American seaboard State. The whole island is mantled with rich soils,—fertile, calcareous loams, which, under constant humidity, yield in abundance every form of useful vegetation of the tropical and temperate climes. The configuration and geological formations are diversified; and there is a variety of economic resources, both agricultural and mineral, convenient to an extensive littoral, with numerous harbors affording excellent anchorage.

Its essential geographic features are as follows: Area, including 1,200 adjacent cays, 45,000 square miles,—slightly less than that of the State of New York,—of which 10 per cent is cultivated, 4 per cent forest land, and the remainder, for the most part, unreclaimed wilderness. Its length is nearly seven times that of Long Island, and stretches between the longitudes of New York and Cincinnati—a distance of seven hundred and twenty miles. Its width is everywhere less than one hundred miles. As regards diversity of relief, its eastern end is mountainous, with summits standing high above the adjacent sea; its middle portion is wide, consisting of gently sloping plains, which form a continuous field of sugar-cane, well drained, high above the sea, and broken here and there by low, forest-clad hills; and its western third is a picturesque region of mountains, with fertile slopes and valleys, of different structure and lower altitude than those of the east. It is in this last district only that the aromatic tobaccos which have made the island famous are grown. Over the whole is a mantle of tender vegetation, rich in every hue that a flora of more than three thousand species can give, and kept green by mists and gentle rains. Indenting the rock-bound coasts are a hundred pouch-shaped harbors, such as are but rarely found in the other islands and shores of the American Mediterranean, and resembling St. Lucia, for which England gave up the rich islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, under the Treaties of Paris.

A century before the Anglo-Saxon found foothold in the New World, Spaniards led by Diego, the son of Columbus, colonized Cuba and built the cities of Baracoa and Havana. The earlier centuries of colonization were first marked by a fruitless search for gold, little of which was found, except as personal ornaments of the natives, who

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were enslaved and finally exterminated. Pastoral pursuits soon developed. Before the end of a century the cultivation of tobacco, an indigenous product, and cane imported from the Canaries, was begun, and African slavery introduced. During this first century the island was also the seat of great maritime activity, from which the explorations of the mother-land proceeded. Morro, Punti, and other fortresses, which to-day stand in danger of annihilation, were begun before 1600.

The second century of the settlement of Cuba was marked by increasing agricultural development and colonization, but was disturbed by the constant fear of English buccaneers and French and Dutch pirates, who made the coastal cities their frequent prey. During this time the walls and primitive fortifications of Havana, Matanzas, and other cities interesting to the traveller, were built.

Similar conditions continued during the third century of European occupation. These ended in 1762 in the notable capture of Havana by the English under Lord Albemarle, who, assisted by American colonial troops, overcame the superior Spanish army and captured spoils amounting to $4,000,000.

The Treaty of Paris (1763) restored Cuba to the Spanish; and from that time until 1834 the island saw its greatest prosperity. The rich soil yielded its harvests of tropical products; and ships, laden with precious cargoes, sailed from its hundred ports. The island itself, in those days of wooden craft, became a centre of ship-building. To Las Casas, who arrived as Captain-General in 1790, is attributed the greater part of this brilliant epoch in Cuban history. He promoted, with indefatigable perseverance, a series of public works, including nearly all those now found upon the island; he established botanical gardens and schools of agriculture, sought far and wide for suitable plants for profitable culture, and, as far as possible, removed the trammels imposed upon commerce by the old system of privilege and restriction.

Owing to the wise administration of Las Casas, and its influences which were felt after his departure, Cuba's allegiance to the Spanish Crown was maintained during the times (1794 to 1820) that witnessed the loss to Spain of her continental colonies and Santo Domingo, and the terrible Haitian revolt against the French. It was this loyalty which caused Cuba to be termed the "Ever-faithful Island," a loyalty attested, in July, 1808,—when news reached Havana that Napoleon had overthrown the Spanish dynasty,—by the unanimous and patriotic action of the municipal corporations, which took oath to hold the island for the deposed sovereign, and declared war against Napoleon.

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This patriotism was but poorly rewarded by the mother-country; for, beginning with that very year, she initiated the unwise policy of sending to Cuba as captains-general men imbued with no motive other than that of reaping from its revenues private fortunes with which to return to Spain. These men were armed with absolute authority. A few of them were honorable and noble: others, by their acts, covered their names with infamy.

By the decree of 1825, which still constitutes the fundamental law of Cuba, the captains-general were armed with a despotic authority such as is known in no other Christian country. This enabled them to arrest, banish, execute, or otherwise punish any resident of the island whom they suspected; and later the decree was supplemented by authority to set aside the judgments of the highest courts. These acts deprived the inhabitants of all political, civil, and religious liberty, and practically excluded them from public office.

The result was an end to domestic peace, and the initiation of uprisings which have continued at intervals since the conspiracy of the "Black Eagle" in 1829. The insurrection of the black population in 1844, the conspiracy of Narciso Lopez, and his three landings from the United States in 1848, 1850, and 1851, respectively, and the revolutions of 1868 and 1895 have all resulted from wrongs inflicted by an ungrateful mother-country upon a colony that had proved in a time of general revolution the most loyal of all her dependencies.

The period of prosperity initiated by Las Casas completely ended upon the appearance, in 1836, of Capt.-Gen. Taçon, one of the Spanish officers who survived defeat in the wars of the South and Central American colonies for independence. Soured by previous defeats, he inaugurated a system of greed and violence. He has been thus graphically described by Mr. Clarence King in this magazine:

"Taçon was a true type of the Spanish oppressor, born with a contempt for everything but force, and hardened by the omnipotence of his Spanish commission."[1]

During his term of office he was as severe with native Cubans as he was lenient with old Spaniards, who alone were appointed to offices of profit or honor. This policy created the breach between Cubans and Spaniards, which has increased with years.

While this soldier was in full power, news of the constitution proclaimed in Spain reached Cuba (September 27, 1836). A move was made by the Cubans to secure their just share of the liberties accorded

[1] "Shall Cuba be Free?" by CLARENCE KING, in THE FORUM for September, 1895, p. 54.

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to Spaniards; but Taçon decreed that no change should be made without his express orders. Taxation grew from year to year, and persecution of the Creole Cubans increased. The Spaniards meanwhile profitably prosecuted the slave-trade, notwithstanding that the importation of Africans was forbidden by the Law of 1820. In 1848 many arrests were made on suspicion of a plot among the slaves about Matanzas against the white people. Officers of the permanent military commission closely examined many persons: but, as interrogation failed to fix responsibility, the prosecution resorted to torture and the block; flogging the unwilling witnesses, who were stretched head downward on a ladder. This process, first applied to slaves, soon extended to the free colored people and then to the whites. The Commission executed, condemned to hard labor, banished, and imprisoned 3,076 people. This iniquitous proceeding was the cause of the first revolutionary movements led by Gen. Narciso Lopez in 1848, of the expeditions of 1849 and 1851, and of Quitman's expedition of 1855.

After 1851 a party—the forerunner of the present autonomists—sprang up, desirous of coming to a settlement, to insure the rights of the colony without impairing the interests of Spain. After protracted efforts, it succeeded in obtaining an inquiry at Madrid into the reforms needed by Cuba; but the only alteration decreed was a new system of taxation more oppressive than the former.

After the suppression of the revolts in 1855 another brief era of prosperity was inaugurated, and continued until the great insurrection of 1868, which lasted ten years. Spanish losses during this decade, as reported at the office at Madrid, were 208,000 men; Spain's forces against the insurgents, 257,000 men; Cuban losses, from 40,000 to 50,000 men; the outlay on both sides, $300,000,000; and the value of property destroyed amounted to an equal sum.

At the close of this devastating war Cuba had almost gained her freedom; but, seduced by the ever-deceiving diplomacy of Spain, the careworn leaders laid down their arms under promises of autonomy and self-government similar to those which have been used less effectively to quell the present revolt. Hardly had the insurgents returned to their homes when Spain, unmindful of her promises, resumed her tyrannical methods of administration and of oppression of the native people; and soon the latter had lost all the prestige gained by arms. By 1894, the year before the present revolution began, the despotism of the Spanish officials had become more unendurable than ever. During this year of tranquillity the writer, while visiting the island, witnessed with amaze-

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ment the operations of Spain's colonial government, administered by a horde of carpet-bag officials upheld by vigorous military law, without one thought for the welfare of the natives or the improvement of the island.

At this time the population of Cuba was 1,631,400, or about the same as that of Vermont, Virginia, North Carolina, or Wisconsin. This population had steadily increased from 715,000 in 1825. Sixty-five per cent of the people were descendants of the aristocracy or sturdy peasantry of Castile, Andalusia, Catalonia, and other provinces of Spain, who, while of Spanish blood, had, through adaptation to environment, developed into a race as distinct from the Spaniard as is the Virginian from the Englishman. The remainder were mostly of African descent.

This population averaged about thirty-six to the square mile,—equalling that of Michigan. Contrary to what has been represented, they were as a class neither ignorant nor lazy. The higher classes, as in New England, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Louisiana, were gentlemen of education and refinement, skilled in agriculture, and often learned in the arts and professions. Some dwelt in picturesque cities, the largest of which, Havana, with the refinement and gayety of a European capital, had a population numerically equal to that of Washington. Santiago, the Eastern city of picturesque villas, was as populous as Atlanta, Nashville, Lowell, or Fall River. There were many other cities each with more than 25,000 inhabitants.[1]

The remainder lived upon 100,000 ranches, farms, and plantations, valued at $200,000,000, which, besides supplying the food necessities of the island, with the exception of salt meats and bread-stuffs, yielded a surplus, valued at $90,000,000, for export.

The wealth of Cuba consisted mainly in enormous products of sugar and tobacco, which constituted 90 per cent of the total exports. Sugar was grown chiefly in the great central plains of Havana and Matanzas, which formed practically an unbroken field of cane. It was also abundant in the provinces to the east. This product in the fiscal year 1892–1893 amounted to 815,894 tons; in 1893–1894, 1,054,214 tons; in 1894–1895, 1,004,264 tons, and in 1895–96, 225,221 tons, all of which, except 30,000 tons per annum, was exported.

The main seat of tobacco-culture was in the Western province, Pinar del Rio, although quantities were grown throughout the island.

[1] The population of the principal cities was as follows: Havana, 200,000; Matanzas (1892), 27,000; Santiago de Cuba, 71,307; Cienfuegos (1892), 27,430; Puerto Principe, 46,641; Holguin, 34,767; Sancti Spiritu, 32,608; Cardenas (1892), 23,680.

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Much of this was manufactured into cigars, cigarettes, and snuff; giving employment to a large proportion of the population of Havana. The average tobacco crop was estimated at 560,000 bales of 110 pounds each, of which 438,000 bales were exported as leaf, and the remainder manufactured in Havana into cigars and cigarettes. In 1897 the total product was reduced to 30,000 bales, or about one-nineteenth of the ordinary crop. The island also yielded Indian corn, coffee, oranges, bananas, pineapples, and other tropical fruits; manioc, rice, and many vegetables; poultry and live stock.

The mineral resources of Cuba are of secondary importance. Gold and silver have been found, but never in quantities sufficient to repay the labor of search. The gold sent to Spain from the island by the early settlers was probably the wealth of the aborigines accumulated in previous centuries by trade with other islands. In 1827 silver and copper were discovered in the Province of Santa Clara. The first ores yielded one hundred and forty ounces to the ton; but the productivity diminished, and the mines were abandoned. Rich copper-mines have been worked in the eastern part of the island near Santiago; but they have been abandoned of late years. Fifty tons of ore were taken out daily in 1868, the richer part of which was broken up and shipped to Europe, while the poorer was smelted at the works. Copper is also reported from other localities. Marbles and jasper, of various colors and susceptible of high polish, are found in many places. Salt of fine quality abounds on the northern cays. Notwithstanding frequent assertions to the contrary, there is no coal in Cuba. A rich asphaltum resembling this mineral has been mistaken for it. This occurs in quantities near Villa Clara and will ultimately prove of great value.

The chief minerals of the island are the iron ore and manganese, which occur in quantities near Santiago, where the iron has been worked for several years by Pennsylvania capital. This ore is consumed entirely in the United States, and constitutes the main bulk of the mineral exports, which in 1892 amounted to $3,500,000. In 1891, 296 mining titles, with an extent of 13,727 hectares, were issued. Of the mines reported and claimed, 138 were iron, 88 manganese, and 53 copper.

Manufactures of all kinds, except tobacco, have been discouraged by Spain's unwise colonial policy.

The commerce of Cuba is relatively enormous. It consists of exports of raw material and manufactured tobacco, and imports of all bread-stuffs, salt meats, machinery, hardware, leather goods, textiles,

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and table luxuries; including all manufactured articles whatsoever, except tobacco.

The normal commerce of the island is best illustrated by a typical year. In 1892 the exports were valued at $89,500,000; the imports at $56,250,000. The balance of trade in favor of the island was, therefore, $33,250,000. This could be maintained under ordinary conditions of government, and enhanced by creating trade with adjacent islands. Of the exports $85,000,000 were classified as vegetable, $3,500,000 as mineral, and $750,000 as animal.[1] The vegetable exports included 241,300 bales of tobacco (one bale = 110 lbs.), 155,000,000 cigars, and 1,000,000 tons of sugar. The minor exports were: rum, 10,000 pipes; beeswax, bananas, honey, mahogany and other woods, valued in all at $2,000,000. The tonnage of Havana, Cienfuegos, and eight other principal ports, for 1894, was 3,538,539 tons, carried by 3,181 vessels.

The essentials of this commerce are: (1) a large balance of trade in favor of the island; (2) the preponderating consumption of the exports by the United States; (3) the division of the imports between the United States, Great Britain, and Spain (the trade of the latter being maintained by discriminative duties against the other countries); (4) the absence of trade with the neighboring regions—except the United States—of which the island is the natural commercial centre. Even the traveller who wishes to go from Cuba to any of these countries, except Porto Rico or Mexico, must ordinarily first proceed to New York.

The trade relations with the United States are shown by the following tables. These figures also show the effects of the present insurrection upon our commerce:

IMPORTS TO CUBA FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Imports.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Bread-stuffs.....	$2,305,031	$3,512,207	$3,164,541	$1,569,010	$774,792
Provisions.....	4,919,362	6,911,123	6,091,884	3,855,676	2,927,629
Iron and steel, and manufactures of	4,567,406	6,936,755	4,958,097	2,850,022	860,420
Wood and manufactures of.....	1,423,985	1,726,961	1,440,096	693,033	460,639
Fuel and illuminants.....	1,553,500	1,479,663	1,471,939	968,249	1,602,168
Miscellaneous....	2,853,127	3,590,989	2,998,764	2,871,671	905,232
Totals	$17,622,411	$24,157,698	$20,125,321	$12,807,661	$7,530,880

[1] Mostly hides, beeswax, and bones.

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EXPORTS FROM CUBA TO THE UNITED STATES.

Exports.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Sugar and molasses.....	$62,642,399	$62,117,665	$64,295,897	$40,872,497	$24,229,309
Tobacco	10,802,690	11,727,088	7,880,468	9,275,980	12,707,352
Bananas	1,535,951	1,641,387	1,277,406	826,615	929,865
Dyes, woods, hides, wax, asphaltum, cocoanuts, etc.....	2,950,631	3,220,376	1,224,290	1,876,167	2,151,204
Totals.....	$77,931,671	78,706,516	$74,678,061	$52,851,259	$40,017,730

It is estimated that the United States consumes from 80 to 90 per cent of the entire exports of Cuba—in fact, nearly everything, except the cigars,—which are world-wide in their distribution; including practically all the raw material. In return for this outlay, however, Cuba purchases only one-fourth of her goods from our country; including, principally, those necessities which cannot be procured from Spain, such as bread-stuffs, salt meats, and machinery. Furthermore, the United States is about the only neighbor of commercial importance against which the rates of the maximum tariff are enforced. As these rates are in some cases much higher than the conventional duties granted by the second- and third-class tariffs, our products have been to that extent placed at a disadvantage.

The net revenues of the island are of two kinds: (1) The balance of trade against the world, which amounts on the average to $30,000,000 annually; and (2) the duties on foreign imports, which have averaged $15,000,000 annually,—a sum that would, under any other government, be ample for administration and public improvements.

During the past three years, by means of subsidized agents and a press bureau, Spanish statecraft has ably endeavored to deceive American public opinion with the statement that the island had yielded no profit to the mother-country. The brief outline I have given of the resources of the island, together with the following facts, will show the falsity of this assertion, and demonstrate that something more than traditional Spanish pride has caused Spain to cling so tenaciously to her rebellious colony. Up to the outbreak of the present revolution, the island had been a source of enormous revenue to Spain, and would have continued to be so, had it not been for greed and neglect.

The financial value of Cuba to Spain has been the absorption of all

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the balance of trade by Spanish merchants, and the personal profits derived by the Spanish civil and military officials. Although Spanish trade with Cuba has been gradually declining, its value in the past is shown by the fact that, in 1854, Spain's exports to Cuba exceeded those sent in 1792 to all her American colonies, which then included nearly half the settled hemisphere. The gain of the merchants of recent times included the profits to the shippers of Cadiz and Barcelona, who sent annually to Cuba articles valued at $25,000,000, and those to the local merchants, who absorbed annually the $30,000,000 representing the balance of trade in Cuba's favor. The profits to the active official classes, not including the fruits of bribery, are estimated at about $15,000,000, besides Cuba's contributions to pensioners in Spain—a tidy sum for supporting the luxurious leisure of these classes.

The following figures will show the truth of my statements: Some of the official revenues, one-half of which are derived from customs, the remainder from numerous species of direct taxation, have been: 1825, $5,722,198; 1867, $33,000,000; 1869, $52,500,000; 1877, $60,000,000; 1879, $54,000,000; 1884, $34,269,410; estimated revenue for 1893–1894, $24,440,759; for 1897–1898, $24,755,760. The disposition of the $34,269,410 of revenues raised by taxation in 1884 shows clearly how it was diverted to Spanish profit. Of this sum, $12,574,485 was paid for old military debts incurred by Spain in suppressing Cuban outbreaks, and otherwise riveting the shackles of tyranny upon the Cuban people; $5,904,084 for the ministry of war; $14,595,096, or nearly one-half the revenue, for supporting Spaniards, as follows: Pensions of Spanish officers, $468,000; pay of retired Spanish officers, $918,500; salary of Governor-General, $50,000; salaries of colonial officials (all Spaniards), $10,115,420; church and clergy (all Spaniards), $379,757; military decorations (to Spaniards only), $5,000; pay of gendarmerie (all Spaniards), $2,537,119; expenses of Spain's diplomatic representatives to all American countries except the United States, $121,300. This left $1,195,745 for the ordinary administration of the island, such as education, public works, sanitation, the judiciary, etc.; but if any of the sum was so expended, there are no visible monuments in evidence of the fact. There is a well-grounded suspicion that most of this sum reached the pockets of the officials. It may be said that in round numbers twenty-six and one-half millions of dollars have been annually contributed by Cuba to the profit of the people of the mother-country, and devoted to purposes by which the island has been in no way benefited.

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In addition to the personal enrichment of *intransigente* Spanish citizens, pensioners, and officials, during the present century, Cuba has contributed immense sums directly to the Spanish treasury. Over $5,000,000 was officially given to the Peninsula during the Napoleonic wars, besides personal contributions from the islanders of the same amount. From 1827 to 1864 an aggregate of $89,000,000 was sent in annual instalments, reaching, in 1860, as high as $29,500,000. Spain may have spent these sums and more in the maintenance of her authority over the island; but this should be charged to her own account rather than to that of Cuba. Since 1867, little or no money has been contributed to the royal treasury; but the Spaniards have still continued individually to profit enormously by the salary list and compulsory trade regulations.

Of all the vast sums collected, there is no evidence that any part of them has been devoted to the development and civilization of the island. No public works or highways have been constructed, education has been neglected, and, for lack of ordinary sanitation, pestilence and disease have been permitted to flourish. Cuba, under perpetual misgovernment, has seen her trade decrease, her crops reduced, her Creoles deserting to the United States and the Spanish republics, and her taxes trebled in vain, to meet the ever-increasing expenses and floating debts.

England, in the wisdom of her government, has distributed colonies throughout the world, given them the fullest limit of self-government and preserved the patriotism and loyalty of their people, has opened their commerce to all nations upon equal grounds, and has demanded of them not one cent of tribute. Her colonial system is the highest practical manifestation of the civilization of the age. The colonial policy of Spain toward Cuba has been the antithesis of this in every respect.

The first generation of Spanish-born immigrants cry as loudly in protestation against the exactions of the mother-country as do the oldest Creole families. Their commerce is restricted; their industrial development is prohibited; their resources are exhausted; and their health, lives, and liberties are forfeited to uphold the effete institutions of a decrepit and incapable mother-country. Not a single motive of civilization can be detected in Spain's treatment of this colony during the past century. To her, since the loss of her American possessions, the island has had no political or strategic value. In this respect the island has merely been an irritating and useless organ.

The United States has long endured this nuisance at its doors. While consuming all the products of the island, and thereby indirectly

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furnishing the means for Spain's cupidity, our commercial interests have been afflicted and heavily taxed, our citizens and country insulted by arrogant officials, and our Southern seaboard inflicted with epidemics which need not have existed. Notwithstanding the affinities of the Cuban population with our institutions, and the strategic importance of the island relative to our Caribbean and Isthmian interests, we have, until the present war, carefully avoided giving affront to Spain, and have endured her taunts with forbearance. When the smoke of battle shall have cleared away, Cuba will be free of Spanish government. Whether the island will remain an independent nation, or ultimately unite its destinies with ours, cannot be told. Personally, I believe that every native-born Cuban is at heart an insurgent, and every insurgent an annexationist, as silently indicated in the flag whose stars and stripes are an adaptation of ours. Whatever the result,—independence, annexation, or a protectorate,—it will be a distinct gain for Cuba, for the New World, and for civilization. With the retirement of the Spanish flag, Cuba's commerce will be unfettered, its industry promoted, its agriculture increased, and its healthfulness improved.

The battle of Cavité not only marked the end of four centuries of Spanish colonial rapine, but ended our internecine quibbles, and aroused the American nation to the appreciation of its importance as one of the great factors in the Anglo-Saxon civilization of the world.

ROBERT T. HILL.

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THE WAR FOR CUBA.

In much the same measure that the Civil War was a war for the negro, the present war with Spain is a war for the Cuban. Nominally, the first was a war for the preservation of the Union: nominally, this is a war for the vindication of the national honor, the deliverance of the United States from an intolerable nuisance and menace, and the protection of important American interests. As an immediate occasion, the destruction of the battleship "Maine" answers to the firing on Fort Sumter. In the army and navy, in official circles at Washington, and among the people, I find the belief completely established that there would have been no war, but for the destruction of the "Maine." But there is, in the case of most wars, an underlying popular grievance, sentiment, or strong impulse, slow-moving at first and finally becoming swift and irresistible, which, when history makes up its record, is found to transcend in significance all official and nominal causes of war. The Abolition sentiment really made the Civil War possible. In the broad, sentimental, permanent sense, it really was a war for the negro. When the world thinks now of the war of 1870 between Germany and France, it thinks no more of the quarrel over the Spanish throne, but recalls the picture of a vast and young-hearted German nation believing itself to be united at last, with a prodigious mission in the world, and feeling within itself an impulse toward the Rhine no less irresistible than that which drove Attila and his hordes toward Rome.

Sentiment rules all great events. A national sentiment, possibly ill-founded, but, I believe, deeply humane, in behalf of "Free Cuba," underlies the present war. Yet, so far as the Cubans are known at all in the United States, I find that they are commonly despised. I have lately been among the Cubans in Florida; and at Key West and Tampa, in the midst of scenes of warlike excitement, I have had opportunity to study the bearing toward these Cubans of men of the army and navy, and also of American people of the more conspicuous grades of civil life. This bearing is absolutely contemptuous. Almost invariably the Cubans are given by the Americans about them a reputation

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for untruthfulness and cowardice. No faith is put by the men of the army and navy in their coöperation in this conflict. Their physical and mental qualities are regarded as thoroughly inferior. Little attention is paid them by the Americans of the Florida towns; and their life goes on apart from and beneath that of the Americans. Their faces and lives impress the sensitive beholder with their deep pathos; yet they are not gloomy in their lives, nor so grave of aspect as the ordinary Spaniard. They are conscious of the contempt with which individual Americans regard them, and aware that the sentiment of the Spaniards toward them as a race has never been and cannot be more uncomplimentary than the sentiment of the Americans about them. Nevertheless, they bear themselves with calm and friendly courtesy toward their American neighbors, accept with gratitude the official expressions of sympathy with them, and go on enthusiastically rather than actively in their campaign of continuous assistance to the cause of their brothers at home.

Key West and Tampa have been the Southern centres of their revolutionary activity. Visiting these towns in quest of information concerning them, I have been unable to find any autonomists among them. They are all in sympathy with the insurrection. The proposition is apparently true that the only advocates of Cuban autonomy among the Cubans are those who are within the Spanish lines. Put them outside the Spanish lines, and they become revolutionists at once. This fact seems to negative the assertion that only a minority of native Cubans are in sympathy with the insurrection. In Key West and Tampa the unanimity of sentiment seems to be absolute. If an independent Cuban state be established, the cradle of its liberty will lie outside its borders, in Key West. A hall in that town was the scene of the first meeting of disaffected Cubans, such as Marti, Maceo, and others, which resulted in the fomenting of the insurrection. In this building, at the present time, the Cubans of Key West maintain a semi-weekly operatic performance, the entire receipts from which are applied to the support of the insurrection. The Cuban people of Key West patronize these performances with sufficient liberality to make their receipts a notable item in the revolutionary budget. We can perhaps gain an idea of the difference between Americans of the United States and the Cubans by fancying the leaders of the American Revolution going outside of the country to find their Faneuil Hall and to organize their insurrection, and supporting it, when started, by the aid of operatic performances. If the fancy helps us to gain an idea of the

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Cuban character which may not be flattering to its force and boldness, it shows the Cubans at the same time to be a people having philosophy enough to get some amusement with their sacrifices, and persistence enough not to give up a cause which they have embarked in.

It is of interest to note what the moiety of the population of Cuba which may be properly called "Cuban" is like. This moiety does not include the natives of Spain in the island, nor many of the children of these Spaniards. As a rule—though there are distinguished exceptions—the children of Spaniards repudiate the Cuban name even more earnestly than the native Spaniards themselves do. Nor does the moiety include the negroes, though for the most part these people sympathize with the insurrection. Those who call themselves and are Cubans represent the only instance in which a European race on any large scale has completely adapted itself to existence in a tropical climate without perceptible admixture of indigenous blood. The prevailing color of the Cuban race is very dark—much darker than the average color of Spaniards. They have not derived this depth of color from the negro race, which still remains one apart in Cuba; nor were they affected, as the Minorcans in Florida were, by the remnant of native Indian population left in the country after the conquest. Their type seems to be accounted for by the circumstance that the blood of the great Mediterranean race, to which Southern Spaniards and Southern Italians, as well as the Berbers and Kabyles of Africa, belong, proved fittest for adaptation to the conditions of life in Cuba, and that the fairer element was gradually eliminated. The Cuban race, I think ethnologists will agree, is merely a successful adaptation of the Mediterranean race to conditions of existence in a tropical American land; nevertheless, it has sufficiently cut adrift from its origin to receive a certain stamp of distinctness, and to have forgotten its race-loyalty to the mother-people.

The claim to a distinct position, which this process of development may be said to have established, has not been respected by the Spanish rulers of Cuba any more than the fact that the people of Mexico were an Indian people, with a special character and special needs and aspirations, was respected. Certain advantages gave the Mexicans an early opportunity to avenge this disregard with the achievement of their independence. Similar conditions in Cuba tended as inevitably to revolt there; for the Spanish and Cuban elements were irreconcilable. Rebellions have frequently occurred; but several influences tended to defer a separation longer than in Mexico. One of these influences was the

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greater proportion of native Spaniards in Cuba; another, the existence of negro slavery, with the presence of a large population of blacks, totally helpless in the hands of the Spanish masters; and a third, undoubtedly, the amiability and want of force of the Cuban moiety. The Indian race, on the other hand, as is well known, is capable of tremendous energy, when aroused. Though the irreconcilability of the two races became more marked and certain with time, the advantage of the Spaniards was so great, and the force of the Cubans so slight, that it is doubtful if the Cuban race would ever have approached so near to separation from Spain, if it had not been for the proximity and sympathy of the United States.

Circumstances have brought many thousands—the number of them is estimated at some forty to fifty thousand—of native Cubans into the United States. The tobacco industry employs most of them. These circumstances have not scattered them through the country, but have concentrated them in the coast cities, and particularly in the towns of Florida and the other Gulf States, whose proximity to Cuba gives them an advantage in the manufacture of cigars. Concentrated thus, and left entirely to themselves by the Americans, they have been drawn to a very limited extent into what we call American life—though as a race they possess a much greater facility in learning languages than the Spanish do, and commonly speak English very well. The instinctive want of sympathy which Anglo-Saxons feel in the case of dark peoples commonly keeps the Amerians and the Cubans in our country socially far apart, though of course there are many exceptions to the rule. Segregated thus, the loyalty of the Cubans in the United States to their race at home has been intensified rather than weakened. At the same time, while the undoubted race-arrogance of the Anglo-Saxon has permitted little sympathy along the line of contact, and has exaggerated the defects of the Cubans, it has in a sense idealized them with the great majority of the American people. It is naturally in the American character to feel the most thorough sympathy with a foreign people we know least. To the average American, the Cuban is a romantic and picturesque person who is making a heroic struggle for his liberty. The fact that, though the Cuban struggle has indeed been persistent, and in some respects enterprising, it has never been heroic, is not much regarded by Americans, who are certainly a broadly humane people, and easily excited, by the often-repeated circumstances of their own history, to sympathize with similar struggles in other countries. From the

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beginning of the Cuban insurrection, our people have undoubtedly looked with complete indulgence on the aid afforded the Cubans by their brothers in this country. The Government has had to spend a great deal of money in attempting to intercept filibustering expeditions; but the people have been glad to see them succeed. Little by little an enthusiasm in behalf of the Cuban cause has been established. The killing of Antonio Maceo, under circumstances which removed the act not far from assassination, inflamed this feeling very considerably. The "concentration" edict of Capt.-Gen. Weyler, and the harshness of that officer's policy, still further excited American sympathy for the Cubans. In the meantime Members of Congress exploited this growing sympathy in a political way. The Cuban cause, without gaining much in Cuba, really gained in the United States. The cruel effect of the concentration of the Cuban peasantry in the towns became more and more evident. The wave of humane sentiment rose higher in the United States. With the spread of devastation, and the increase of distress in Cuba, the hurtful effects of the war on American material interests connected with the island grew more evident; and though these American material interests had never had any sympathy with this insurrection, but rather looked to Spanish rule for protection and encouragement, they were made, by the march of events, to foster the sentiment in favor of American intervention in the island. The fact, that sentimental considerations, when they take a wide hold on the people, completely master material considerations, received a new illustration.

The way in which the real Government of the insurrectionary Cubans, working almost entirely in the safe shelter of American cities, stimulated and built up this sentiment is a fair proof of a considerable degree of diplomatic capacity on the part of the Cubans. As enthusiastic patriots, there is no doubt that they themselves believed a great deal more than was true concerning the movements and battles of Gomez and other insurgent leaders in Cuba. Writing on the ground from which the great majority of reports of insurgent successes went abroad to the people of the United States, and having been able to acquire some acquaintance with the circumstances under which these patriotic reports were disseminated, I think I may say that those advices did more credit to the ability of the Cuban leaders in the United States and their zeal for their cause than they did to their regard for the truth. Many Cuban victories cannot be traced beyond Tampa; some others can be traced as far as Key West; and a few others were undoubtedly authentic. That any larger proportion of reported Spanish

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victories in the island were better founded is perhaps doubtful; though the Spanish have many times put to rout insurgent bands, which have quickly formed again, very likely in larger numbers than ever. A succession of such victories has left the Spanish cause no further advanced than before. Still it is true that the insurgent cause is yet to have its Bunker Hill,—that is to say, even a defeat which proves the respectable force and undeniable fighting qualities of its adherents.

But when we have said the most for the artificial means by which American sympathy with the Cuban insurrection was stimulated, we must admit that in a very great measure it is natural. A weak people is struggling with another which is much stronger. Its abstract right to independence is unquestionable. Its masses of European descent are equally intelligent and equally civilized with the Spanish. A distinct people, it has never been allowed to control its own affairs. The representation which it has been conceded, as a return for heavy burdens, has been a mockery. Its history parallels that of the American colonies before the Revolutionary War with sufficient closeness to account for the growth of a real sympathy on the part of a people which has been reared in a profound respect for political sentiment of the kind professed by the Cubans. Well-nourished, this sympathy has unquestionably become a popular movement of the kind to which I referred at the outset. The motive supplied in the explosion of the battleship "Maine,"—commonly believed, whether proved or not, to be the result of design,—war resulted. It came with noteworthy promptness after the cause was accepted as established. Protests and arguments against it were utterly wasted. It is now perfectly plain that the great majority of the people of the country desired and intended war. The minority, composed of a reflecting class which may be said to be very influential at long range only,—influential in shaping sentiment which may some time in the future be powerful, but entirely powerless against a rising ground-swell of popular sympathy,—found it had not more than a dozen representatives in Congress. All the rest approved this war, decreed for a humane principle.

The immediate results of the act of a capable but unmilitary people, in suddenly going to war with a foreign country, have presented, at the scene of active operations, interesting matter for study. In addition to a navy which, though not powerful, was more powerful than that of our adversary, we had a small military machine, good, but totally inadequate to war on a large scale. Sentiment and inherited social and

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political ideas had prevented more than a very slender organization of the military arm of the United States. The regular army had actually heavily declined in its proportion to the population of the whole country. Our legislation in this regard had been faithful to the tradition, brought down from before the Revolutionary War, which is hostile to a standing army. The regular army was not only ridiculously small, but was rendered almost helpless, by its distribution in small detachments over a vast extent of country and by the impossibility of exercising it in any general evolutions. The men were, however, well trained within the regimental compass; they were as good marksmen, probably, as any regular soldiers in the world; and they were of admirable physique. Their officers were intelligent and well trained, except in matters connected with the movement of large bodies of men.

The navy was of unequal merit; containing a few ships which, so far as can be judged without actual experience, were as good as any of their class. It was lamentably deficient in torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers. However, as it overmatched the Spanish navy in guns and certain other important respects, and held an immense territorial advantage, the position which it assumed was instantly one of dominance in all American waters; and a similar mastery was soon gained in Asiatic waters. The sentiment which underlay the war required that it should by no means be exclusively a naval one, but should promptly take the character of an invasion of Cuba, to expel the Spanish from the island and relieve the necessities of the inhabitants. It appears altogether unlikely that our nation will ever in any warlike conflict take so keen an interest in the operations of its navy as it does in the organization of a military force, which takes the form, sentimentally, of the real uprising of the people. War had no sooner become a certainty, on April 19, than the attention of Congress was concentrated chiefly on the creation of an army, presumably for the war.

Meantime the small regular army was summoned from all the posts which it occupied, and rapidly concentrated at several points accessible to the Gulf of Mexico. This mobilization proved very successful in its essential points, though there were considerable delays; a few blockades resulting from the pressure of the army trains, and one head collision of a military train with a freight train, not resulting in serious damage. A regiment of infantry was moved from San Francisco to Tampa, Florida, in eight days, with the injury of but one man by accident on the way, and without making one man ill, though practically the whole journey was made through hot regions in a warm season. Such re-

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sults prove that American transportation facilities favor rapid movements of soldiery, and that the discipline in essential respects, and the means of sustenance and sanitation of the regular army are good. As a rule, the men arrived without missing any of their meals; and supplies of fresh beef, coffee, and other provisions were awaiting them at Tampa. One regiment, through a mishap, was compelled to go under shelter-tents; but the rest were better lodged. At Tampa the troops were paid, in anticipation of an embarkation. The subsidiary material, including equipments necessary for the communications of a considerable army in the field, were quickly collected. These details are mentioned to show that the regular army met the test by proving itself an excellent machine, well operated.

But in war the main reliance of a country like the United States is supposed to be not in its regular army, but in its volunteers. With us "the army," in case of such a war, ceases to mean the regular standing army, and comes to mean the volunteer citizen army. It is desirable to see how this citizen army was called into the field. It was found, in the first place, that an Act of Congress had to be passed to create such an army. An Act, indeed, providing for the summoning of the militia, had been in force since 1793; but, were its terms obeyed, it would arm the soldiers with flint-lock muskets and organize them in ways which would be as absurd at this day as the sending out of an army with flint-locks. The retroactive declaration of war, which was made on April 25, dated the existence of war from April 21; but at that date Congress was still struggling over the passage of an Act to constitute the volunteer army on paper. The utmost confusion and uncertainty prevailed as to the means by which it was to be constituted. The minority party in Congress refused to allow the regular army to be augmented without the introduction of safeguards against its permanent increase. The sentiment of suspicion of standing armies was still strong enough to exact the restitution to private life, at the close of the war, of the thirty-three thousand or more men whom Congress voted to add to the regular army. A law was then passed which created a volunteer army. Almost inextricable confusion arose in Congress over the distinctions to be made between volunteers and militia; and the patriotic haste which was necessary left this distinction considerably obscured. Governors, when called upon to furnish the States' quotas of soldiers, began to experience doubts which the law suggested. The President had requested that the men sent by the States should be furnished from the National Guard,—that is, the organized militia of

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the States,—as far as possible. But they were to go, not as the National Guard, but as "volunteers." Many of the militia who were undoubtedly willing to go to the war were unwilling to relinquish their regimental organization. Some of the Governors of coast States proposed to supply the State's quota outside the National Guard, and keep the organized militia at home for the defence of the State. The confusion in the public mind was complete; and the effect of the muddle was observable in a considerable delay in getting any of the volunteers into effective condition for service. This has enabled the officers of the regular army to point to the fact, that the regular army was the only organization found available for service, and that, in the event of an invasion by a foreign army, we should be practically undefended on land, except in the measure that accessible regular troops could defend us, or militia close at hand could be called out. War had been officially dated from April 21; but it was not until April 29 that the first company of the forces of the State of New York arrived at one of the points of rendezvous for the State troops, and not until May 3 that any considerable number of militia had arrived. In the meantime, practically the whole of the regular army had been successfully mobilized, and one regiment, as I have said, had been transported all the way from San Francisco to Tampa; and a contingent, fully prepared to make a landing in Cuba, only awaited the arrival of adequate means of transportation from the nearest available Gulf port.

All this seems to show, that if war is to be made, it can be made quickly only by those whose business is to make it. In case of a strong foreign invasion, in which great bodies of troops would be needed, a mobilization requiring from one to two months would be fatal. If we have definitely abandoned the traditional policy of unconcern about the affairs of foreign nations, or if foreign nations have acquired so great a degree of suspicion with regard to our national purposes, or have been moved to an active jealousy of our national growth, it is plain that we must either maintain a standing army, large in comparison with the present one, or else so organize our militia that we shall have large territorial bodies which can be exercised annually with the regular army, battalioned with it in the three-battalion system, and ready at all times to be added in case of emergency. Of course, such a system would mark a very great change in our national policy, and would involve a sacrifice of the prerogatives of the States; but the question is whether the change has not already arrived, and whether the Cuban war is not a token of it. A larger standing army is likely to be one of the results of the war.

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I doubt if any thinking person believes that the Republic can go back after the war to the place where it was before it. It is not to be supposed that the nation will stop short of the expulsion of Spain from the West Indies. The conquest of the Philippine Islands is in progress, and that of the Canaries probable. None of these territories is likely to be given back to Spain. If they are set up independently, annexed to the United States, protected, or, as has been suggested, given to England in return for a price which is to indemnify us for the cost of the war, no indemnity being obtainable from Spain, our prestige will not only have been much increased, but we shall have set up in the business of disposing of the destinies of peoples beyond our own borders—a field which we have never before entered. It is reasonably assumed that, in all probability, the present war will not have ended without the annexation of Hawaii. The bombardment of Manila by a squadron which had no nearer coaling port than San Francisco practically involves the treatment of Honolulu as an American port, in fact as well as in name. The war can hardly be ended without enormously extending the range of the direct influence of the United States.

This extension will call for the immediate settlement of the question of the Isthmian Canal. It can scarcely be settled otherwise than in a way to aggrandize the republic. Aggrandizement will lead to aggrandizement. A logical sequence of the whole—Great Britain having undoubtedly favored our present enterprise—will be an Anglo-Saxon alliance. This will saddle us with a new interest in a perennial world-wide quarrel. A counter-alliance of certain European Continental powers is already expected and invited. Unless some new means of reconciling the quarrels of nations be devised, it will be necessary to arm against this menace.

This presents another side of the question. The long path of national aggrandizement and world-wide influence once entered, the nation's feet will fly swiftly upon it. No one knows to what goal they may tend. It is easy to the patriotic fancy to see nothing but glory at the end of the path; but the reflecting American, who knows what tremendous social, political, and material problems we have to face, and is also aware of the peculiar lack of training and sagacity of our official representatives in all international matters, will wonder whether there may not be more vicissitude and disaster than glory in the prospect—even if victories on land and sea be easy.

JOSEPH EDGAR CHAMBERLIN.

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SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN OUR NEWEST TERRITORY.

"No matter what people tell you to the contrary, there is not a man in this town who would stay if he could get out." This was the pessimistic remark of a prominent Oklahoman to a stranger, made in a weary time of waiting for a Government appointment; but, fortunately for the growth of the Territory, there are those within its bounds who do not feel that way. They see in the new country a chance to make a fresh start, unhampered by the competition of crowded districts, and relieved of the over-stimulation of haste.

Before the famous "Run" with which Oklahoma opened, the Government cleared the decks for action. In the old days, when the geographies showed but one Territory where now are two, the district was supposed to be given over entirely to the Indians; but in reality it contained many white residents of unsettled habits of life and loose morals. Cattle-men leased lands for grazing, and led the usual rough, exciting life of the cowboy; matching shrewdness against savagery, for the sake of both profit and adventure. Those of this class now living seem to have left from the experience a residuum of romance which forms the foundation of engaging tales. The retired cowboy, now keeping a grocery or a livery barn with demure respectability in a town's centre, seems merely a humdrum, shiftless sort of citizen whose life has always been in crowded districts; but if his confidence be gained, his illiterate tales will be a veracious history of the most interesting period of the region.

Besides the cowboys there were outlaws who fled to the Indian Territory to escape the avenging justice of better-governed States. Once within the Indian borders, there was every facility for the evasion of justice. Here the celebrated James boys had an occasional "dug-out," to which they flew when respite from adventure was desired. The equally notorious Dalton boys, who were cousins to the Jameses, also found here a home so happy, and express trains so profitable, that they were very loath to leave, even after well-meaning folk had flooded the Territory as homesteaders. Immunity from punishment was secured through the absence of local law. Tribal laws prevailed among the

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Indians, but did not affect the refugees; and, provided a man kept from trouble with the Indians, there was so little difficulty in living that one wonders at the restless spirit which impelled him again into danger.

When the land was bought from the Indians, surveyors were sent to mark the entire country off into squares. The plan was, no doubt, neatly drawn at Washington on the smooth surface of a pretty pink map in which topographical inequalities were not represented. The lines were surveyed to run a mile apart, north and south, east and west, each to denote a highway, and each square mile between them to represent a section. The intention was to give each settler a quarter-section of one hundred and sixty acres. The authorities at Washington, in looking at the plain surface of the map, forgot that the country they were thus geometrically dividing was frequently broken by deep ravines and gulches: but the system was inexorable; and, as a consequence, the traveller never deviates from the compass, but his horse toils up a hill, reaches the crest, sidles down the farther slope, crosses a rude bridge, and climbs another hill, to repeat the process indefinitely. The uplands are always bare of trees, but the gulches are thickly wooded; and if the roads could have been permitted to follow the line of trees, a grateful shade would have been secured from the relentless sun, and picturesque beauties would have beguiled the farm children on their way to distant school-houses.

Those who were arranging the Territory for the entrance of the white settlers located imaginary towns at various points; and these districts were surveyed for town sites. No deviation was permittted from the law of right angles; but a section was cut into square blocks, which, in turn, were subdivided into city lots. In the case of Guthrie, one square was set apart for municipal buildings and another for a university. In the heart of the town a tract was reserved for the "Government Acre," on which was erected the crude, one-story, wooden building of the land-office. At different points throughout the Territory an entire section was also reserved by the Government for the benefit of the school fund, which land it was intended to lease; using the money thus obtained for the maintenance of the fine public-school system which is one of the best features of our Western civilization.

For several weeks before the opening, the country, then being ready for the reception of homesteaders, was cleared of all individuals except the soldiers stationed there to prevent the arrival of "sooners." The latter, however, ingeniously effaced themselves for the time only; for,

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when the signal gun was fired, they seemed to rise from the ground, as though Cadmus had been on earth again sowing the fabled dragon's teeth. Men who had herded cattle, and those who had traded with the Indians for years, were not to be outdone by the vigilance of soldiers ignorant of sheltering "draws," hidden "dug-outs," and obscuring fastnesses of scrub-oak and blue-stem. "A feller had to keep mighty quiet until the marshal's gun fired," said a successful "sooner"; "every draw kept fillin' with men all night long; an' it was hard to keep from seein' and bein' seen."

With everything cleared for action, the crowd was lined up on the border of the new country awaiting the hour of noon, April 22, 1889. It was a crowd of determined, almost desperate, men and women, many of whom, having failed in the fight for prosperity, had gathered here for a fresh trial. Every man's hand was against his fellow. His neighbor on the right, placed there by accident, might be the one who would beat him in the race. The men who stood in line were composed of two classes: (1) those who had failed in every undertaking, and (2) others so young that this was their first bout with fortune. Some were mounted on ponies, which they had ridden from distant States: others were in farm-wagons in which they had journeyed from Kansas, Missouri, and even from Tennessee. The failure of Western Kansas after its period of booming was accountable for a large part of the enormous crowd that gathered at the Oklahoma border. The opportunity to try again so near home could not be neglected.

It was with difficulty that the crowd was restrained by the marshals; and, when finally the signal was given, a mad race began the results of which make interesting history. All men started as enemies. The reward was to the selfish and to the bully; and greed and strength were the winners. The number of homesteaders exceeded the number of claims; and more than one man pitched upon the same quarter-section. In some cases as many as four or five insisted on the right of possession. Thus on the very first day began the contests which have ever since been a harvest to the lawyers, and have produced an unhappy condition of society unknown elsewhere. As an example, two families built their rude homes simultaneously on opposite corners of the same quarter-section; each family being positive of its own right. The help of the law was sought; decisions and reversed decisions resulted, harassing the contestants, until one, more unscrupulous and desperate than the other, shot his enemy through the window or among the outbuildings at twilight. This is not an exception, but a common

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condition of things. All over the Territory are claimants who dare not live upon their property until the contest is finally settled. They take refuge in the nearest town; and the case goes on through the local courts until it reaches Washington, and the Secretary of the Interior gives his ultimatum. So much litigation is an expense which all cannot bear; and many a rightful contestant loses his claim for want of money to defend it. This condition of injustice and criminality is passing away as the time alloted by the Government for "proving up" approaches expiration; but the hatred engendered in each man's breast was an unhappy handicap in the settlement of a new country. Besides this, the uncertainty, whether a man is or is not the permanent possessor of the land, robs him of ambition to improve it; for he may be working for the good of one whom he would rather kill than benefit.

As I have said, the men who rushed into the Territory, and located themselves on claims, were actuated by an impelling necessity, the instinct of self-preservation, excepting always a few adventurers, who ultimately passed to more attractive fields. Men became farmers because the land was given them; not from any knowledge of the pursuit, nor from any love of it. A man who secured a quarter-section was as likely to have been a type-setter or telegraph operator as anything else; and yet he attempted at once to support himself and his family by farming. Men were ignorant of the peculiarities of the country and its climate, and in their selection of a claim could only apply the principles which pertained to the country they had left. Thus, those whose former homes had yearly been in danger from the flooding of the Mississippi, disregarded the rich bottom-land of Oklahoma, and chose instead unprotected uplands where winds uproot the young wheat.

Many settlers were doubly handicapped through not having learned the business of farming and not knowing anyone who could give them indispensable information concerning the local agricultural possibilities. Still, over the unbroken prairies sped the sod-plough; and in the overturned soil was sown that stand-by of all Western farmers—Indian corn. The next year the plough was followed by the harrow; and the second big crop was wheat. Someone tried an experiment with Kaffir corn, and found it suited to the climate: it made fodder for stock and bread-stuff for man. Sorghum, broom, and alfalfa were tried with success; and castor beans have lately formed an important crop. Somewhat timidly an experimental cotton-field was planted; and it was gradually demonstrated to the farmers that Oklahoma was the land of

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cotton. One hundred and fifty thousand bales have been marketed this year. The bringing of the first bale into Guthrie is regarded as an occasion of much rejoicing; and its sale at auction takes place on the street in order to give public enthusiasm an opportunity for expression. Another experiment, with melon seeds, showed the extraordinary fitness of the soil for producing that kind of fruit. Melon Day in some of the towns almost equals in gala features the public auction of the first bale of cotton; and melons are given away to all comers. At other times five cents is the common price for a luscious water-melon; and ten cents will buy a dozen musk-melons of sweetest flavor. A few experimental peach-trees gave such satisfactory results that many farmers are cultivating extensive orchards. There is scarcely a yard that has not its peach-trees, the negro quarters being no exception; so that in blossom-time the whole country is brightened with masses of pink bloom. Grapes are now being cultivated with such success that extensive vineyards are being planned.

And yet, many a farm in this fertile country is a pitiable failure; the owner and his family suffering the cruelest privations of poverty. The homes of some of the people are almost devoid of furniture; and the food consists almost invariably of fat salt pork, underdone bread, and coffee. Eggs and butter are all taken to market; for these bring in return either cash or those necessities which cannot be made at home. That shiftlessness and incapacity are the causes of poverty, is demonstrated by the fact, that of two men, with claims side by side and all conditions equal, one will have erected a comfortable home while the other still huddles in his original "dug-out."

Towns in the Territory show the restlessness born of experiment which has not yet yielded such good results as had been anticipated; and added to this is the spirit of adventure and recklessness characteristic of those who have little to lose. It is not a country of capitalists, but a place where poor men have come to seek possibilities denied them elsewhere. Every man watches jealously his neighbor; and popularity is not always with the prosperous. The freemasonry of poverty and of isolation in this far country are the two bonds which draw people together in mutual sympathy. Men may seem hard and indifferent; but illness or calamity will reveal in them the kindliest spirit.

Most of Oklahoma's population is composed of the people whose families, pushed westward from the Atlantic Coast by advancing civilization, have lived on the border for generations. The instinct to seek new homes and fresh adventure is inborn. Other people, mingling with

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these, acquire the same restlessness. From time to time, since the original opening of Oklahoma, new tracts of land have been thrown open to settlers; and the people who have rushed into them have not been those crowded out from large Eastern cities, but the restless ones already in the Territory, who have sought thus to increase their holdings.

If a farm be not desired, then there is the more exciting undertaking of procuring a desirable city lot. Men established in business in the principal towns all rush to the new tract, and there establish branch houses; thus repeating in another place the identical conditions of business rivalry. Imported rivals are looked upon with extreme disfavor; but capitalists who establish large industries, that bring money into the district and furnish employment to eager workers, are warmly welcomed. Oklahoma is like a large family which, while having its internal jealousies, unites in resenting the trespasses of outsiders. The Territory jealously guards its reputation too, although painfully cognizant of its defects, just as parents love most tenderly an unfortunate child.

For the first few days of a town's life all the shelters are tents; but these quickly disappear, as the threatening winds make them insecure refuges. A new town is at once supplied with an electric-light system and a tall stand-pipe, which latter points, like a mammoth finger, rebukingly at the eternally sunny sky that withholds the blessed rain. The city-lot principle determines the regularity of the streets and the architecture of buildings in the business parts of towns. A wooden, oblong building, one story high, is the usual structure. Buildings of this kind stand shoulder to shoulder, with metropolitan economy of space, until some ambitious landowner puts them all to shame by erecting a brick-and-stone building in a florid style. Land- and pension-offices are as quickly established as the post-office; and lawyers appear in droves, knowing that disputes and contests will be the first crop of the new district.

No town of more than a year's standing is without its second-hand shops, which exist in numbers disproportionate to the population. They tell a tale of disappointment and defeat; for they contain the household effects of many who have travelled to this far country only to meet with failure. On every hand are small investors ready to take chattel mortgages on the household effects of those who are pressed for ready money. The rate of these mortgages is 12 per cent; and, as the interest is usually left unpaid, the goods are seized and sold, in the second-hand stores or at public auction. It may not be uninteresting to mention that $7.50 is the average value of the household furniture of each family in the entire Territory; but this, of course, includes an

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enormous number of negro homes where the furniture is comparatively valueless.

The most striking expression of restlessness in the Territory is the "schooner" population. These people, although having adopted the nomadic propensities of the Romany, are not gypsies. They have no settled home, are bound for no objective point, and wander year after year up and down the country; going south in winter, and north and west in the summer, seeking nothing but pleasure and a perfunctory sort of comfort. To the city dweller, worried and goaded, such a life looks attractive. To loaf eternally, near to the heart of nature, to eat *al fresco* and to sleep on the prairies,—these are delights which would tempt even a higher type of civilization then the nomad of the Southwest. Originally these people started as a well-meaning, hopeful family, bent on the establishment of a new home. Misfortune, or lack of energy, permitted other men to precede them; and they drifted on to other districts, continuing to wander, better satisfied with life in the wagon than with prospects offered by available farms. The wagon has grown to be a rival of the sleeping-car as regards economy of space and perfection of comfort. A gasoline stove is established for winter use; and comfortable beds are not lacking. Camping is done just outside the towns, where it is customary to spend the night near a smouldering fire. The vicinity of water is sought; for the "schooner" family has always in tow a prodigious amount of live stock,—horses, cows, calves, and colts,—for use and trading.

Money in the Territory is tight; and those who have it to invest obtain rates of interest which would be usurious elsewhere. A paucity of coin has developed much ingenuity in getting along comfortably without it. Municipal and Territorial debts are paid, not in cash, but by a system of negotiable warrants, which are usually exchanged for the necessities of life, and lie long in an investor's strong-box before maturing. Farmers trade produce for groceries; the marketman gives the apothecary a roasting-fowl in exchange for a box of pills; and thus an ingenious system of barter has grown out of the situation. Much comfort is secured without the actual handling of money. The price of all food produced in the vicinity is extraordinarily low. On $800 or $900 a year a family of four or five persons can live in a house of good construction, and have a pony, a cow, a pig, and chickens. The local standard of expenditure being low, there is less than the usual temptation to that extravagance which is our national fault.

The two principal sources of actual money-getting are (1) the crops which find market outside the Territory, and (2) Federal positions.

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These last are so desirable that scarcely a man in the Territory looks upon himself as ineligible for an appointment; as he would willingly forego the uncertainties of his business for the cheering regularity of a quarterly remittance from the Government. The President appoints all important officers, beginning with the Governor and extending to the judiciary, the marshalship, and minor positions. The men who occupy these offices have the privilege of making subordinate appointments in connection with their work. Each change of Administration disrupts the entire Territory; and business is temporarily paralyzed. Candidates and their aids flock to Washington, and wait on the pleasure of the President; every wire is pulled; and a worthy vigilance and pitiful patience are displayed by the candidates who are loath to leave Washington until the matter is decided. Local vernacular describes this condition as "waiting for plums to fall." Except in the judicial positions, the candidates are professional or commercial men who expect to supplement their ordinary business with the duties and emoluments of Government service. Sometimes the Government at Washington delays settling the affairs of our youngest Territory; but this would never be done were it known how agonizing is the suspense in awaiting the falling of the plums. It comes hardest on the women, who in public maintain a dignified composure, but in private abandon stoicism and weep hysterically over the delay or the *denouement*. It is not strange that people settling a new country with the best energy of their best years should regard the carpet-bagger with jealousy and indignation.

While Oklahoma remains a Territory its business eyes will turn toward Washington rather than to New York; for the Great Father of the Indians dispenses also to the whites. Society, which is usually spelled with a capital, looks toward Kansas City, Denver, and Chicago as sometime possibilities, but feels New York to be as distant and un-American as London or Paris. If any specially invidious distinction is drawn against New York, it is only an expression of conviction, that that city ignores the national principle of individual equality, and has established for itself an aristocracy. A thorn in the side of the Oklahoman is the indifference with which the Territory is treated in the East. He and his fellows feel themselves to be more loyal Americans than are New-Yorkers, and to be doing more than they to increase the spirit of patriotism. "What does a New-Yorker usually look at, when he first opens the morning paper?" said an Oklahoma lawyer. "He reads immediately the European news, which is given a prominent position on the first page, and judges his country financially and so-

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cially from the position of a European. He never thinks of the West; he does not even realize our existence; he ignores or condemns us socially, and warily refuses to invest his capital here where he would not only receive large returns, but would also help in developing the country for the good of the nation."

To view the Territory aright it should be remembered that its people are fighting a constant war against paralyzing poverty. They exhibit both ingenuity and patience in subsisting without expenditure; and all the powers of both mind and body are called into requisition to gain a livelihood. Competition in certain specialties of business menaces little; but each man's struggle, to procure a share of the small proportion of money that comes this way, makes all shrewd and selfish. Notwithstanding this, public spirit is a force which is developing for the public good. In one large town there is a club composed of the most substantial citizens, which takes up all matters of public welfare. If a railroad, which will be of advantage to the town, be projected, this club assists in raising money for its construction, or prevails upon manufacturers to bring their plant to the town. The club advertises the Territory as much as possible throughout the Union, with the view of inducing homesteaders and capitalists to settle and to invest. It is when calamity visits the country that the club shows its best feeling. On the occasion of a cyclone, not long ago, the members of this club, within two or three hours, subscribed $3,000 for the benefit of the sufferers; thereby entailing upon themselves a self-denial little short of privation. The cyclone was followed at no great interval by a flood; and again the public-spirited club members denied themselves for the benefit of the human brotherhood. Town treasuries are often empty, while the town suffers for need of some improvement,—a bridge or other public work;—but the far-seeing club urges the people to let private enterprise take the place of public neglect, and, by a concerted effort, the bridge is built or the water-works are constructed.

One of the most striking things in Territory society is the existence of class distinctions—more especially among the women. In business, in politics, in all the affairs of life except amusement, people are equal; but inside the parlors of the frame houses distinctions are arbitrarily made according to local standards. Occupation has little to do with it; for an auctioneer's wife may be received, while a lawyer's wife will be debarred. Young men in this new country pursue any occupation by which they can live; and few of the young women lead lives of simple domesticity. All young people are at work, some of them in

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the humblest positions; but these things have nothing to do with the social position. In some places money secures the latter; but, as a rule, it is created by one of two causes,—personal magnetism, and that ultra-snobbishness which is found in its highest development in America. Churches also do much to divide towns into various cliques. Besides these divisions women's clubs are present even here, although they are bound together by so slight an interest as an afternoon game of whist.

The extremest of conventionality marks the women, who know nothing of the delightful freedom of the women of larger cities. They live entirely within the limits of their little town; paying visits to one another. When they take their walks abroad, or drive in their buggies or surreys, it is to trot up and down the gridiron of unshaded streets; disregarding the soul-satisfying wonders of the wide prairies beyond. They become absolutely self-centred, and their views, circumscribed; but this works to the advantage of local development. If their eyes were always on the unattainable, whether apparel or the cultivation of the mind, there would be discontent and a tendency to scorn the simple pleasures which alone are possible. The truly feminine desire to follow the mode is evinced by the tendency to adopt new forms of expression and hospitality. Society events are reported in the local papers in the same descriptive terms as those which tell of metropolitan entertainments; and thus the people pleasantly delude themselves.

A custom exists of providing each lady with an escort, who shall see that she is brought to the place of entertainment, wants for nothing while there, and is accompanied safely home. In the lady's note of invitation is designated the name of the gentleman who is to be her gallant; and in his is mentioned the name of the lady whom he is temporarily to protect. This plan is presumably intended to prevent heartache in those unattractive ones who might be neglected; but, like all inexorable laws, it acts unhappily in some cases. The "fierce light which beats upon a throne" is a feeble candle compared to the brilliant illumination which surrounds young people during the mating-time in a small town. It sometimes happens that the hostess assigns to a young man the young woman to whom he has been paying court, but by whom he has been recently rejected. He is therefore obliged to miss the affair of the season in order to avoid a *contretemps*.

In the Territory local pride exhibits itself in novel and characteristic ways. Whatever the district can produce that is noteworthy, whether in industry or crime, brings upon the people much the same

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feeling that animated *Jack Horner* when he "put in his thumb, and pulled out a plum, and said, 'What a good boy am I.'" This explains the spirit of self-gratulation which makes of the desperado a hero.

Oklahoma was once the home of the outlaw; but a vigorous system of prairie police under the direction of the United States Marshal has either destroyed or dissipated all notorious bands. An occasional leader is captured, possibly plucked from a life of "exemplary industry"; and great is the rejoicing. That justice has at last descended? Not at all; but rather that for one day all serious considerations are to be abandoned, and the town, blessed by the outlaw's presence, is to be given over to boyish enjoyment. Thousands meet the prisoner at the train, and he is escorted in a public carriage to the office of some public functionary where, like a great character, he receives an ovation. Even the Governor attends to shake hands with the noted man of adventure. After the reception is a banquet in a public room given in honor of the hero of the hour. It is to the regret of all that the day ends by depositing the city's guest in quarters more confining than elegant.

When the event is over, those of cooler blood murmur loudly their disapproval of this royal treatment of a villain, and common sense asserts itself; but no one regrets having for one day tasted the exhilaration of associating with outlawry's exponent. The grewsome exhibition of dead outlaws killed by marshals is one of the brutalities of border life, and is never sanctioned by the best element.

The noted outlaws having disappeared, the deputy-marshals form the most picturesque class now extant. The marshal is appointed by the Government at Washington, and as a rule is sent from another State; but his innumerable deputies are men who have lived in the Territory for years, and are well acquainted with every billowy prairie and sheltering draw. They are men of iron nerve, defiant of hardship, jealous of honor, and combine shrewdness with fearlessness. Dressed for the hunt of an escaping criminal, with two belts of cartridges around the waist, six-shooters in evidence, and a Winchester hanging from the saddle, they look like desperadoes themselves. A loose shirt and a sombrero give picturesqueness to the outline; and the man's mount is a lean, wiry pony of easy gait and untiring muscles.

A familiar and pitiful figure in the towns on market-day is the impoverished, unsuccessful farmer whose unhappy brain has been upset by the populistic heresies of a certain class of political ranters. Want and privation have attenuated his figure; thriftlessness has stamped him; and the long, sparse beard, the tanned complexion, the torn and

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insufficient clothing, are weatherbeaten to one sad color—the same color that life has always worn for this son of ill fortune.

The most cursory review of the Territory would be incomplete without a mention of its negroes. In some towns these almost equal the whites in number; and the town of Langston, in Logan County, is exclusively a negro settlement, with its own government and educational institutions. Many negroes came to the Territory under the false promises of certain political schemers, who deluded them with promises of free homes which were never realized; their object being merely to import votes. Unnecessary additions to the population were thus stranded in the country. The supply of labor being in excess of the demand, the wages paid to these people are insufficient to sustain life; and thus they are forced to live literally on the crumbs which drop from the white man's table. Racial prejudice is sufficiently strong against them to make necessary the establishment of separate schools even in districts remote from towns. But water-melons to eat and cotton to pick are the two blessings which mitigate life's curse for the negro in Oklahoma.

Except on the reservations, the Indians are but little seen in the Territory. It has always been their disposition to shun civilization. Their presence in towns is so unusual that it excites remark; and the word passes that "Three Indians are on the street to-day." They are regarded curiously and with contempt. Would-be landowners think of them with envy, as possessing fertile acres without developing them; and the man of business looks with impatience on their idle ways, and solaces his indignation by charging them double price for all goods. Notwithstanding the romance with which Eastern folk invest the Indian, the people of the Southwest place him far below the negro. This, of course, relates only to those Indians who have not been developed by civilization. Among the better class are some with a strain of white blood, whose manner of living is identical with that of the whites.

These are, in brief outline, the social conditions of our newest Territory, where hard work, more than the refinement of art, occupies attention. It is here that pure patriotism and Americanism are found. Idlers here have time to loaf; thinkers have time to deduce; and the man of ability and ambition outstrips his fellows. In this far district is again illustrated the truism, that when all men start life equal, in a few years each will find his natural level.

HELEN C. CANDEE.

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TEXTILE WAR BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

SINCE the panic of 1893 manufacturing of every character has been more or less depressed, and loud lamentations have gone up from both capitalists and wage-earners. Perhaps the depression has been more keenly felt in the textile industry than in any other.

In the New England States manufacturers were at first disposed to attribute their embarrassment to the stagnant condition of business general throughout the country. But within the last few years they have become very much alarmed lest the real cause should prove to lie in the superior advantages of textile manufacturing in the South. Last winter the Legislature of Massachusetts sent South a committee to inquire into the conditions of cotton-manufacturing in that section; more recently several delegations, representing the manufacturers of New England, have gone through the South on a similar mission; and some of the leading newspapers of the East have despatched reporters to the Southern mills to "write up" the various phases of the industry.

These investigations have thrown a flood of new light upon the advantages of cotton-milling in the South, and caused New England capitalists to entertain a different view respecting the manufacturing possibilities of that section. They have with one accord concluded that the South has an insuperable advantage in cheap labor, and that the mills of the East cannot at present compete with those of the South without cutting down wages. Hence the general precipitate reduction of wages in New England early in the year.

However, the wage-earners of New England do not seem to agree with their employers as to the causes of the depressed condition of the trade. They say that the reduction of wages, beginning in 1893, has diminished the purchasing power of the masses, and made inevitable an accumulation of unsalable cotton goods in warehouses and in the hands of wholesale and retail dealers. They also hold that the cheap labor of the South has nothing whatever to do with the stagnation in New England, that everywhere cheap labor means inefficient labor, that high-priced labor always turns out the most product and the best product, and

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that, consequently, the capitalist who employs high-priced labor has the advantage over the capitalist who employs low-priced labor.

In both these contentions the laborers are abundantly supported by the teachings of economists, especially those who have made recent investigations into the subject of wages and industrial depressions. Mr. Hobson, in his book on "Modern Capitalism," treats very thoroughly the subject of depressions in the textile industries; and he concludes that the chief cause is under-consumption, or the inability of the masses to increase their consumption at the same ratio that production increases. Sir Thomas Brassey some time ago collected facts going to show that it was more profitable for the capitalist to employ Englishmen at 3*s.* 6*d.* per day in making Irish railways than Irishmen at 1*s.* 8*d.* Similar results were found pertaining to numerous building trades, mining, and manufacturing. Sir Thomas found wages lower in France, Germany, and Belgium, than in England; but, the laborer being less efficient, the cost of the product was greater. Prof. Schulze-Gaevernitz has investigated this question with special reference to the cotton industry, and comes to the same conclusion. He compares cotton-weaving in America and England, and shows that, whereas wages are much higher in America, the laborers are so much more skilful that the cost of production is considerably lower. He finds the same result in all his comparisons of high-wage with low-wage countries; hence he informs the capitalists of Lancashire that they have nothing to fear from competition with the cheap labor and long hours of the Indian factories.

Many noted American economists—among them, Gen. Walker, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Schoenhof, and Mr. Wells—have made researches into this subject, and come to the same conclusion. The effect of these teachings has been to impress upon the wage-earners and capitalists of New England that they are in no danger from the South, or any other country having cheap labor. This unanimity of opinion has lulled New England manufacturers to sleep by the soothing assurance of immunity from danger; meanwhile, Southern capitalists have continued to erect mill after mill, and to produce every year a higher grade of work, until the very sand has been dug from under the foundations of the cotton industry of New England.

In the light of what is evident to every candid mind, there can be no doubt that the economists have done great damage to the capitalists both of New England and Great Britain. The error in the reasoning of the economists lies upon the surface. When we compare the laborers in Great Britain and India, we find that the latter are accustomed to

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few comforts; their life is pitched upon a low plane; and, hence, their wages are far below those of Englishmen. In this case the lower standard of life happens to correspond to less education and less intelligence and aptitude; hence, capitalists derive little, if any, advantage from such cheap labor. Facts like these have led economists to jump to the conclusion that cheap labor is not advantageous anywhere. The facts would perhaps justify the statement that where the standard of living is low, the labor is less capable. But the economists have left an important factor out of the account. The standard of living in two countries may be the same, and yet the price of labor may be very different, owing to differences in the cost of living. In that case the cheap labor may be just as efficient as the dear labor; and, consequently, the capitalist employing the cheaper labor would have a decided advantage.

That is precisely the state of things in the South, as compared with New England. The Southern labor in textile industries is not cheap because of a lower standard of living, but because house-rent, clothing, bread, meat, butter, eggs, and other necessities require less outlay than in the North. The Southern mill-hands come from worn-out farms in the cotton, tobacco, and turpentine regions. They are poor, but very respectable, virtuous, and even religious people. There is scarcely any drunkenness or immorality among them. Instead of spending their surplus income for beer, they spend it for better food, clothing, and literature. It is the testimony of grocers, and the general complaint of employers, that the operatives are high livers. Mr. Mallory, superintendent of a Charlotte mill, says, "they spend too much money on dress." They live in commodious, well-lighted, and well-ventilated houses. In a tour among mill-settlements a visitor would be surprised to find in many homes the floors carpeted, neat curtains at the windows, pictures upon the walls, as well as pianos, organs, and numerous books of the best character. In the yards would be seen flowers and shrubbery, and on the porches comfortable rocking-chairs.

Not only is the standard of living among Southern operatives equal to that of Massachusetts, but the quality of the labor is fully as good. A mill-man, who recently made a tour of the South, writes to the "American Wool and Cotton Reporter" as follows:

"Now, as far as my observation went, the Southern operative was doing about as much work as ours here, and doing as good work. I have seen no better-running mills anywhere than some of those visited in the South; and, when got at in detail, it was found they had no more help than would be the case in a well-regulated mill here. The speed of the various machines was fully as high as usual here."

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Mr. Shea, superintendent of the Clifton mill, South Carolina, who has managed operatives in the North as well as in the South, declares emphatically that the help in the South is better upon the average than in Massachusetts. He says, "We can turn off just as much work and just as good work as the help up there." Of course, some of the new mills have not yet attained to the speed and efficiency of the older ones; but there can be no doubt as to the competency of the Southern laborers. They are all native-born Americans, mostly of good Anglo-Saxon stock; and many of them are the sons and daughters of Confederate soldiers.

Having shown that the standard of living and the efficiency of the textile laborers of the North and the South are practically the same, the conclusion is irresistible that the cheaper labor of the South is due to less expensive living. Land in the South is very cheap; and house-rent is, consequently, cheap also. A home of four rooms, with a porch and front and back yards, can be rented upon an average for 80 cents per week. The average annual rent per family in North and South Carolina is $45.91; in Massachusetts, $77.47.[1] Notwithstanding the shorter winters in the South, the fuel expenses per family are the same as in Massachusetts. This is due to the higher-priced fuel in the South, and the old method of heating each room by a separate fire. Most other things are cheaper in the South. At Charlotte, for instance, where prices are above the average, beef costs 8 cents, pork 6 cents, sausages 10 cents per pound, chickens 12½ to 20 cents each, and meal 15 cents a peck; while fruits and vegetables are proportionally low. The cost of food for a family of four persons need not exceed $3 per week. Many mill families raise all their hog-meat, and keep a cow. Owing to the mild and short winters, few articles of heavy clothing are needed; and children run barefooted for eight months in the year.

The difference in the cost of living in the North as compared with the South is probably greater than the difference in wages paid; hence, the Southern operative can get more in return for his labor. Statistics show that cotton-mill-hands in the South spend more in the aggregate for clothing and sundries than do Northern operatives in the same industry.

The lower cost of living, then, accounts for the difference in the wages paid. Let us see exactly how much this difference is. According to the Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Labor for 1893, the average income of cotton-weavers per family in the Carolinas was $412.09: the average in Massachusetts was $524.28, or 27 per cent higher than in

[1] Report U. S. Commr. of Labor for 1893.

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the South. It must be remembered that a family in the South is upon the average larger, and that there is a larger percentage of workers to each family than in Massachusetts. The Arkwright Club reported that wages in Massachusetts were 40 per cent above those in the South, which is no doubt nearer the truth. In addition to the lower money-wages the Southern mills have the advantage of an hour or an hour and a half longer work-day.

As the cost of labor is the chief item in cotton-manufacturing,—87 per cent according to Mr. Atkinson,—and as the South has an advantage of 30 or 40 per cent in this particular, it is idle to expect New England to compete with the South unless this advantage is offset by some disadvantages. Only in a few minor items have the New England manufacturers an advantage over the South. They have lower freight rates, closer proximity to markets, somewhat cheaper coal, more surplus capital, and lower rates of interest. But all these things together are a mere bagatelle compared with the cost of labor. Besides, these advantages are not of a permanent nature. It will only be a short time before the increasing wealth in the South will enable her manufacturers to borrow on better terms; and as the industries diversify, and the cities enlarge, they will have a home market for their goods.

The South has a decided advantage over the North in the matter of taxation. In the South the proportion of assessed to the real value of personal property is only 31 per cent; whereas in New England the proportion is 52 per cent.[1] As the larger part of a mill is its personal property, this difference is so much to the advantage of the Southern mill. Besides this, the proportion of assessed to the actual value of real estate is less in the South; and the rate of taxation is lower. A majority of the Southern mills are situated in the country, and so are free from any municipal taxation.

The argument is occasionally put forth that the advantages which the South now has in cheap labor are only temporary, that in a few years laws will be enacted prohibiting child-labor and limiting the hours per day to ten, as in the North. Furthermore, it is said that the increasing demand for labor by new mills will soon exhaust the supply of labor and cause wages to advance.

No doubt labor laws will some day be enacted in the South, but probably not within the next ten years; and, even then, if enforced, they will by no means equalize the immense advantage which the South has over the North in cheap labor. As for the supply of labor giving

[1] Compendium Eleventh Census, Vol. 3, p. 958.

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out, that is a very wild notion. In the Piedmont section, for example, the low price of farm products is making life hard for the cultivators; and the farmers are everywhere eager to move to town. All the mills that could be built in that region in the next half-century would hardly shelter the stream of agriculturists who would seek asylum in them. Some three million people inhabit that region; and the writer hazards the assertion that one-fourth of them would move to town immediately if they were sure of finding work.

This article would fall short of the truth, did it not remind the reader that the cheapest labor in the South has not yet, to any great extent, been drafted into cotton-mills. I refer to negro labor. A notion is abroad in the South that the negro could not work in a cotton-mill, because the hum of the looms would put him to sleep. But there is no rational ground for such belief. Negroes now work day and night in tobacco-factories, and display marvellous dexterity and deftness in the use of their fingers. Of course, unusual risks must attend the first venture with dark labor in a cotton-mill. All new mills must necessarily employ some experienced hands to start with; and, if a manufacturer undertook to operate with negro help, he could not bring in white laborers to teach them, owing to the unwillingness of the whites to commingle with the other race. He would have to start with all raw workers; and if the business failed, the fact that negroes had lived in the tenement-houses would render it almost impossible to get decent white laborers to occupy them. "Once a negro house, always a negro house," is a maxim familiar to real-estate owners, both North and South. However, the ice will soon be well broken. A mill in Charleston is already running with dark labor; and another mill is now building at Concord, North Carolina, to be run exclusively by the same kind of labor. If these experiments prove successful, then indeed will the South have a never-failing fountain of cheap labor. It is not improbable that within the next decade all the coarse grades of yarn, say below 26's, will be made in the South, by dark labor. Should dark labor become generally employed, we should have to admit that the cheaper labor in Southern mills was due to a lower standard of living as well as to less cost of living.

Finally, were there no economic advantages in cotton-manufacturing in the South, there would still be reasons for believing that the future capitalist will look to the South as the best field for successful operation. In the South there is little animosity between the wage-earning class and the capitalists. They dwell together on terms of mutual esteem and friendship; and the reason for such pleasant relations is very

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obvious. The mill-hands, or at least their fathers, are nearly all whilom capitalists, that is, land-owners; and, having acted the part of employer, they now know how to respect that office. There are no traditions in the South tending to make laborers despise capitalists. There is no memory of days of oppression, cruelty, and disease-infected tenements, such as comes down from generation to generation in New England; breeding bitterness and revenge among the laborers. On the other hand, the capitalists have no memory of strikes, nor of secret plotting against their interests by laborers whose minds have been poisoned by foreign anarchistic sentiment,—nothing of this sort that would tend to freeze the heart of the capitalist and cause him to return malice for malice. The Southern wage-earner and the Southern capitalist, coming together at a happy period in the history of civilization, when the hardest problems of the wage *régime* have been fought out, when laborer and capitalist better understand each other, and when the law better defines the rights of both, it is not probable that there will ever exist in the South an antagonism between the two classes so bitter and fierce as that which at present exists throughout the North or in Great Britain. Many of the Southern mills are managed by their owners, who personally know all their employees. They greet each other kindly in the mill and elsewhere, and, in not a few places, worship in the same church and commune at the same altar. There are no painted-glass windows in Southern mills to cut off the view or the light of heaven, and no icehearted superintendents to lord it over the operatives. Indeed the superintendent imported from the North is nearly always a failure, for the reason that he regards the laborer as a mere machine or commodity. He is unsatisfactory to wage-earners and proprietors alike.

Should the capitalists of the South continue to respect the rights of their employees and to manifest a proper interest in their welfare, there will never be any occasion for strife between the two classes.

JEROME DOWD.

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THE LITTLE KINGDOM OF THE PRESIDENT.

SUCCESSFUL in its very defiance of all the principles upon which our national structure rests, the government of the District of Columbia is to-day, to use the expression of an observant British ambassador, "a living protest against Republicanism." Lacking the fundamental element of our citizenship, the exercise of the ballot, it transforms the capital of the United States into an Americanized edition of some petty dukedom or principality of Europe,—a bit of monarchy transplanted upon Western soil. The people count for naught. They are mere individuals in an autocracy where unelected rulers execute laws which are not the direct embodiment of the popular will. The executive power, centred primarily in the President of the United States, is supreme. The three commissioners who govern, the local judiciary, the recorder of deeds, the register of wills, even the justices of the peace and the notaries public—in fact, all the principal administrators of municipal affairs are appointed by him; while the commonest vagrant in the workhouse is dependent upon his mercy for a pardon. He rules; and all the rest obey. The District of Columbia is, in short, the little kingdom of the President.

And yet, strange to say, there is truth in the epigrammatic words of Ex-Senator Ingalls, that the best-governed city in the United States is the city where the people do not govern themselves. The conditions which have brought about this anomalous situation are worthy of careful consideration.

It is certainly a fact of no small importance that government without suffrage is no longer an experiment in the District of Columbia. Deprived of the right to vote for local officers or upon questions of local concern, refused even a voice in Presidential elections, denied a representative in the Congress which is their legislative body, the citizens of the District are silent and powerless factors in the working out of a singular problem. Unfortunately, perhaps, the experiment has been too successful. It has demonstrated that the boasted rights and privileges of independent citizenship can be surrendered without injury; that suffrage is not essential to acceptable government; that public

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spirit, fondly supposed to be eternally vigorous, quickly atrophies; and, above all, that the repression of the people conduces to the good rather than to the ill administration of public affairs. For, despite the fact that they do not exercise the highest expression of citizenship, the people of the District of Columbia have little reason to complain. They enjoy complete immunity from all municipal responsibility, a freedom from scandal and corruption in the dispensation of the city's funds, and a happy relief from the turmoil and disturbance of local politics. The peace of their well-ordered lives is never ruffled by the riotous Election Day. Free from the vagaries and extortions of common councilmen, with a police force unawed and uninfluenced by the ward boss, with taxes steadily maintained at economical and unchanging figures, with expenditures far removed from aldermanic whim or other official extravagance, with its official machinery working without friction, the District of Columbia presents an altogether unique example of what can be accomplished in the way of government when the people are entirely eliminated from the equation.

The few square miles that lie beneath the great white dome of the Capitol experienced many phases of municipal administration before the present system was adopted. It is worth remembering, as indicating the germinal idea out of which a now impotent and voiceless community was evolved, that in 1783 the Congress of the Confederacy fled from Philadelphia, to escape the menacing clamor of the unpaid army, after having appealed in vain for protection to the President and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. The agitation caused by this disgraceful incident finally resulted in the Constitutional clause giving to Congress the right to "exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district . . . as may . . . become the seat of government." In other words, Congress provided, as far as possible, against a repetition of its Philadelphia experiences, by assuming absolute control of its permanent home. Mob rule was a possible danger; and, having been insulted and scorned by the local authorities under whose supposed shelter they had gathered, the Fathers of the Republic embodied in themselves the future protection and vindication of the dignity of the Government.

The question, whether the framers of the Constitution, in conferring upon Congress exclusive legislative jurisdiction, intended to deprive the people of the District of Columbia of the right of suffrage, was long ago decided in the negative. Madison declared in "The Federalist," as a foregone conclusion, that the people of the District "would have their

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voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them"; and he added that a municipal legislature derived from their own suffrage would, of course, be allowed them. In fact, Congress speeedily empowered the President to appoint a mayor; the people being represented by an elective Upper and Lower Council, which were granted limited powers of legislation. Even in the incipiency of the District, however, the problems which are now uppermost presented themselves with genuine force. As far back as 1803, resolutions in Congress suggested retrocession to Maryland and Virginia, for reasons that are to-day still urged in protest against existing conditions. It was claimed, in brief, that exclusive jurisdiction was not necessary nor useful to the Government; that it deprived the inhabitants of their political rights; that much of the time of Congress was spent in legislating for the District; that the government of the District was expensive; that Congress was incompetent to legislate, because its members were strangers to local interests; and that the example of a government without representation was an experiment dangerous to the liberty of the States.

Disregarding these reasons, because of the memory of harassing events and because it was assumed that the District, when sufficiently populous, would have its representative in Congress, and in the meantime a local legislature, Congress nevertheless realized the justice of the complaints; and soon afterward the mayor was made an elective officer, suffrage being conferred on free white male citizens. In 1867 the negroes were also given the right to vote, and the councilmen and aldermen enacted local laws; but these conditions did not prove altogether satisfactory.

Agitation for representation in Congress led, in 1871, to the establishment of a territorial form of government, with a governor, secretary, board of health, a board of public works, and a legislative council,—all appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. A delegate to Congress, and a lower branch of the legislature were elected by the people. This experiment lasted only three years. The Governor, Alexander R. Shepherd, a man of determined character, broad views, and great administrative ability, began a system of comprehensive improvements; being seconded by the Board of Public Works, which had large legislative and practically executive powers. Streets were levelled with total disregard of abutting property; sewers were projected upon the most extensive scale; the old muddy thoroughfares were changed into well-paved avenues; the national capital was saved from disgrace;

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and the straggling, unkempt, forlorn village became a beautiful, attractive city.

The transformation was only accomplished, however, by the expenditure of $50,000,000, half of which was left as a debt for future generations to pay. Not only was the property of individuals practically confiscated by burdensome special taxes, and made worthless by changes of grade which left houses isolated on miniature mountains or half-submerged in newly made valleys, but the entire District was forced to the verge of bankruptcy. A revolt among the people, accentuated by the discovery of scandalous transactions in relation to contracts, led to a long and sensational investigation by Congress, and to another change of government. Although the Board of Public Works, the responsible cause of maladministration, was in no sense a representative body, having been appointed by the President, Congress decided that suffrage should be withdrawn from the people, and a system of autocracy inaugurated; offering, as a recompense, an agreement that the United States should pay one-half of the expenses of the District. For the first time in our history, the right of franchise was apparently regarded as something capable of being estimated at a cash value, amounting, as events have since determined, to about $3,000,000 annually. Whether the enforced barter would have been accepted by the people, if they had been consulted, is very questionable; but their opinion was neither asked nor desired. The District, therefore, entered in 1874 upon its new form of government; and the system proved so successful that it was made permanent in 1878.

Local affairs in the District of Columbia are now administered by three commissioners, one of whom is a Republican, another a Democrat, and the third an officer of the Engineer Corps of the army, each of whom receives $5,000 per year. The trio are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; and the civilians must have been residents of the District for at least three years. The sense of the community is not expressed in the selection. The President—very frequently a total stranger to the people whose rulers he is called upon to name—is compelled to accept such advice as may be given him by those having sufficient influence to reach his ear. The number of these is necessarily very restricted; nor are his advisers always actuated by the most disinterested motives. Petitions and letters pour into the White House, but are rarely even a factor in determining the final outcome; and it is doubtful if one in a thousand secures the President's personal attention. Sometimes mass meetings are held; but

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they have so little weight as to be more humorous than effective. The word of a personal friend, upon whose judgment the President feels he can rely, is more influential than a multitude of documents signed by persons whose names are unknown to the Chief Executive and of whose standing or reputation in the city he is equally ignorant.

Even under these apparently untoward circumstances, however, it is only fair to say that the Presidents have been, almost without exception, singularly fortunate in their selections. They have demonstrated that the principle of arbitrary choice is advantageous. With one exception, their nominees have been confirmed by the Senate, after reference to the District Committee; and in that one instance an adverse report was due not to the unfitness of the nominee, but to his having been unfortunate enough to speak disparagingly of the Committee.

Unlike the ordinary municipal officers, the Commissioners are in no wise directly responsible to the people. They have secured their appointment through the intercession of personal friends with the President; and to these agencies they are naturally grateful. Their very freedom from the restrictions of popular favor or disapproval has its advantages, as it enables them to enforce onerous, but proper, regulations unhampered by the anticipated verdict of the ballot-box. They are purely executive officers, appointed for three years, although their powers in connection with framing police, building, and plumbing regulations are quite liberal. These regulations are the routine ordinances of other cities. All other laws, from the authority to widen an alley to the assessment of taxes, must be sought from Congress, which thus becomes the common council of the District. Committees which have no other business than the consideration of purely local matters are appointed in the Senate and the House; and their chairmen are naturally all-powerful.

In the lower branch of Congress three or four hours on two days of each month are devoted to the discussion of bills reported from the House committee; but the interest taken in this class of legislation is so slight that a quorum is maintained with great difficulty. In the Senate no special time is set apart for District matters, but bills are either called up by the chairman or members of the committee, according to their pressing importance, or are considered in their order upon the calendar. It is, therefore, of the gravest consequence to the fate of any measure that the sympathy and support of the chairmen of the Senate and House committees be enlisted.

Here, again, it is not the voice of the people that is most potent. Public hearings are occasionally granted; but it is not the middle classes

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—the vast majority of the property owners—who can most readily reach the legislators. They lack the time and the money to engage in those social functions which exercise a marked influence and which are possible only to those who represent large corporations or have great interests at stake. The charge was once made before the Senate District Committee that Congress had never passed a law favorable to the laboring classes in the District. The records do not affirm this assertion; and I believe it will be granted, as a general proposition, that the District has been dealt with honestly and fairly by men who have only a most remote interest in local affairs.

Upon proposed legislation the Commissioners exercise some influence. They originate numerous bills; and their judgment is always invited as to the advisability of enacting suggested measures. Their adverse report is almost invariably fatal. In reaching their conclusions they are, as in their executive acts, free from the fear of the people. Usually they are protected from criticism in the local press by reason of the substantial favors they can dispense; and there is no other outlet for the public voice. Yet the Commissioners have, as a general rule, sought to do their duty in rigid fashion. The most serious complaint against Congress is, that it allows too many necessary laws to go unpassed. I have before me a calendar of the Senate District Committee, showing one hundred and twelve bills awaiting action. They concern as many different propositions, including the regulation of cemeteries, the sale of poisons, the protection of young girls, the chartering of street railways, the sale of milk, the prevention of smoke, the sprinkling of streets, the jurisdiction of the District Supreme Court, and even the imposition of a license tax upon itinerant musicians and the proprietors of merry-go-rounds. These, in the main, are trivial things to occupy the attention of a great national legislature; and yet they are indispensable in city government. Large numbers of these bills die at the end of each session of Congress. One would think that this condition alone would excite the restiveness of a busy, independent population. To some extent it does; but, on the whole, the great mass of the people of the District accept the situation with satisfied indifference. The present generation has come to manhood knowing naught else but this government without representation; and they accept it because they are accustomed to it and because it weighs upon them with the least degree of irksomeness. They thankfully welcome all relief from the duties and responsibilities of municipal control, and prefer to endure a few evils rather than risk the additional burdens which a change might bring.

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If, latent in the hearts of all the people of the United States, there is the sentiment plainly manifest in the District of Columbia, a limited monarchy—could one be established without revolution—would be accepted in a quarter of a century as the wisest form of government.

When suffrage was taken away from the District of Columbia, as I have already intimated, it was decided by Congress—acting arbitrarily in this as in all other matters—that the Federal Government should bear one-half of the expense of maintaining and improving the national capital. Up to that time the United States had, in nearly seventy-five years, contributed only $6,000,000 for this purpose. The justice of a fair division of this expense cannot be gainsaid. Under the deed by which the District was ceded to the Federal Government, the streets and avenues, as well as the public parks, belong to the nation. Common fairness demands an equal assignment of the cost of lighting these streets and reservations; while the police and fire departments protect government as well as private property.

These are minor details, however, compared with the broad view of the interest which the nation feels in the development of its capital. This sentiment of national pride will ever be uppermost; so that the question of governmental aid may be considered settled, even though some rural Congressman occasionally seeks notoriety by insisting that the disfranchised citizens of the District shall support the national capital at their own expense. At the same time, the contract has not been always faithfully kept. A few years ago an aqueduct tunnel was planned and constructed by army officers—no citizen of the District being in any wise responsible. When the scheme failed completely, through the incompetency and criminal negligence of the principal officer, the entire cost—about $3,000,000—was saddled upon the District, which has nothing to show for the enforced expenditure except a worthless hole in the ground. Another flagrant case is the National Park—a reservation designed, in the words of the creating law, "to benefit the entire nation." In this case, one-half of the cost was laid upon the District taxpayers; but the other half has now been assessed against the owners of adjoining property, so that the Federal Government escapes any cost whatever.

These, however, are exceptions.. There is far more reason to complain of the fact that, while in theory the United States contributes a dollar for every dollar raised by the taxpayers, actually it does nothing of the kind. The appropriations, without exception, fall short of doubling the revenues of the District; and to-day there is nearly $1,000,000

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in the Treasury, contributed by the citizens of the District, in excess of the appropriations, and which they are entitled to have expended in needed local improvements. The District requires more and larger school buildings, more adequate police and fire forces properly to protect extensive areas now lacking in that regard, and, especially, a new municipal building. All these *desiderata* seem impossible of achievement because Congress, engrossed with more important subjects, is indifferent.

Nor is there any redress. The Commissioners prepare their estimates upon anticipated revenues from taxes, licenses, water-rents, etc., and with due regard to the city's demands; but the figures are subject to the revision of some subordinate who acts for the Secretary of the Treasury, and are then considered by the Appropriations Committee of the House. This committee slashes and prunes with more or less wisdom; the paring process being based on a desire to cut all appropriations down to the lowest possible amount. The Bill must then run the gantlet of the House, many members of which are lamentably lacking in pride in the development of the nation's capital; and, finally, the same procedure is followed in the Senate. The latter body—to its credit be it said—is much broader in its views than the House; but in both bodies the direction of street improvements is largely controlled by personal influence brought to bear upon members of the committees, so that the poorer sections of the city do not always fare equitably. When the Bill has passed both Houses, and has been still further emasculated in conference, the taxpayers, who contribute one-half of the money thus appropriated, must take what is given them and be thankful.

The Federal Government carries its paternal care into the disbursement of the expenses of the District. The receipts of the local administration are deposited in the Federal Treasury; and all payments are made by warrants drawn upon that institution. There is absolutely no possibility of municipal theft or diversion of the funds. The Appropriation Bill designates the amounts to be expended, and specifies each object in detail, even to the price per lamp for street-lighting; and not one cent can, without detection, be directed into any but its proper channel. The accounting officers of the Federal Treasury stand guard over the money, and would promptly report any discrepancy or illegality. No appropriation can be exceeded for any excuse whatever. It is this security against pilfering that largely reconciles the citizen of the District to a deprivation of his suffrage rights. There may be favorit-

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ism to certain corporations in the granting of minor privileges; but the wholesale robbery of the public till—too common in many municipalities—is unknown in the District of Columbia, because it is impossible.

The President, as previously stated, does more than appoint the commissioners. He selects the local judiciary, even to the police-court judges, the justices of the peace, and the notaries public; he names the recorder of deeds, the register of wills, and, of course, the postmaster and the United States marshal. In fact, he practically rules over his little kingdom through his personal appointees; and Presidents have been known to dictate the appointment of friends from their own States to very subordinate places. In none of these selections does the popular will manifest itself by the usual method. It is the Presidential coterie that suggests and advises. The people are expected to acquiesce quietly; and they rarely disappoint by failing in obedient resignation. One reason is, that great care is generally exercised in selection; but, as a matter of fact, protest would be of little avail.

It must not be supposed that there is no dissatisfaction whatever. The spirit which led to the tea episode in Boston harbor and to the revolt of the colonies which resented the remark of King George, that the people could not govern themselves, while it has become to a very large degree inactive in the District of Columbia, is, nevertheless, alive in a few liberty-loving and protesting souls. For the past ten or fifteen years these faithful advocates of suffrage have knocked persistently, but vainly, at the doors of Congress for a restoration of their ancient rights. Their arguments, it must be admitted, appeal to every characteristic of the typical American nature, and are based primarily upon the wrongfulness of taxation without representation, the difficulty of securing legislation from Congress, and the discrimination shown against a large and intelligent community. They emphasize the fact, that the danger which, in the days of the Confederacy, threatened the Congress, is now past. The Capitol was safe from intrusion even during the exciting and turbulent period of the war, when franchise was enjoyed to its fullest extent by the citizens of the District. They show that even Ireland is represented in Parliament, and that the residents of the capitals of Europe are not deprived of a voice in municipal affairs; and they insist that no reason can possibly exist why the inhabitants of the American capital should be considered less capable of self-control. The citizens of State capitals are not restricted in the enjoyment of their rights; and certainly we have not reached that stage where the people of the national capital are likely to endanger the safety of Congress or to loot the Treasury through

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the endowment of franchise. To quote Gen. E. F. Beale, the friend of Grant,—

> "It is better to trust the ability of the people to govern themselves than to retain a form of government which causes a great and growing population to lose their self-respect, and engenders a feeling of discontent and degradation, because they are not admitted to the equal rights of the citizens of their country."

If Congress so desired, it could, without doubt, delegate to a local legislature the functions of municipal government. These powers were actually transferred from 1802 to 1871; and during that time the affairs of the city were so economically administered that, although the Federal Government contributed little or nothing to the support of the national capital, a debt of only $3,000,000 was contracted. Nor must it be overlooked that the people of the District, although forming no part of the governing body of the republic, have always borne, without complaint, their share of national burdens. They have paid direct taxes in full proportion to the population; and they have furnished their quota in every war. Even now they maintain a militia that has recently proved its readiness to bear arms in support of a government which deems these soldiers incapable of becoming citizens. Viewed also from the standpoint of population, wealth, and taxable property, the District is worthy of consideration. Last year it paid more internal revenue taxes than Montana, nearly twice as much as Oregon, and more than the States of Vermont, Delaware, Mississippi, South Dakota, and Idaho combined. Its population—nearly 300,000—is almost twice as large as that of Montana, exceeds Delaware by nearly 100,000, and aggregates more than Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada combined. The assessed valuation of its taxable property alone—not including the Government buildings and reservations—is exceeded by only twelve cities in the United States, viz., Baltimore, Boston, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, San Francisco, and St. Louis. In other words, it is not a mere country village upon which the experiment of government without suffrage has been imposed.

The payment by the United States of one-half of the expenses of the District government is the equivalent for the deprivation of the ballot. It is the mess of pottage for which the people were compelled to part with their birthright; and, in the minds of a very large proportion of the population, it is a sufficient compensation. It insures a tax-rate of $1.50 per $100. The average tax-rate of one hundred and six leading cities is $2.10; and Omaha and Des Moines are inflicted with a levy of over $5. The taxes in the District of Columbia are, therefore, not only

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moderate, but are not liable to change; the rate being fixed by Federal law.

It is this certainty of inexpensive assessment, coupled with absolute freedom from the distraction and insecurity of local politics, that not only contents the average citizen with present conditions, but attracts to Washington the leisured rich from all sections of the country, who build costly homes and contribute to the social gayety of the Presidential court. This class of citizens, as can be readily understood, is extremely desirable; and their presence is a powerful obstacle in the way of franchise agitation. Many Senators and Representatives, too, own property in the District; and, observing with no small degree of pleasure the tranquillity and security of the District government, as compared with the administration of their own cities, will not vote for any change which threatens these conditions. In vain is Congress informed that the capital of the republic—the people's model government—should exhibit to the resident ambassadors of all nations the safety and stability of its free institutions, and be illustrative of the good sense and sound judgment of a people vested with political rights. In vain is it protested that the present form of local government is essentially wrong, in that it is based upon the assumed incompetency of one of the most intelligent communities in the world to govern itself, upon the denial of home rule to the people—thus discrediting republican institutions everywhere—and upon the destruction of all incentive on the part of the young to interest and educate themselves either in local affairs or in the general government.

Congress hears these arguments on the one hand, and then listens, on the other, to the appeal of the people to be spared from a repetition of the scenes which converted Washington on Election Day into a veritable "Devil's cauldron." Above all, Congress is told that the balance of power would be held by the negro class. This, indeed, is getting very near to the root of the whole matter. In the South the negro is disfranchised by methods not altogether fair or legal: in the District of Columbia there is a white man's government, even though it is attained by closing the polls against all men.

And yet, is it not strange that the capital of a great republic like the United States should be an object-lesson of successful government by autocratic and oligarchical methods? Is it not remarkable that three hundred thousand citizens should rest content under conditions which elsewhere would be condemned as un-American and un-republican? Most extraordinary of all, however, is the fact, that fifty or sixty thou-

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sand children are being taught that the ballot is an unclean thing, fit only for the lowest classes of society; that it is the fear of the control of the poor and the ignorant that prevents suffrage; that elections are disturbing, unnecessary, and unwise; that taxation without representation is not tyranny; and that the government in which the people have no voice is the safest, the most economical, the best government of all.

These seem strange lessons to inculcate in the minds of young Americans; but—perhaps, unfortunately—they are drawn from the daily observation of their environment. The property-owning, conservative class, secure and satisfied, asks no change. These men know that with the appointing power the shiftless, the indolent, the discontented, and the anarchistic can have no influence whatever; and thus property interests are safe, so far as they can be protected by favoring rulers and indulgent laws. Here, indeed, we find an ideal government. Should we, however, carry its principles to their logical conclusion, and adapt them to the entire country, the result must startle all thinking men; for the people of the United States are fostering, at the very heart of the republic, ideas which, exemplified in a nation instead of a community, would lead inevitably to the establishment of a monarch upon the throne.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF GERMANY: ITS MERITS AND ITS DEFECTS.

THE great Swiss pedagogue, Pestalozzi, once compared the entire system of educational training to a large building of three stories. These stories, united by stairways, correspond to the three successive stages embodied in the *Volksschule* (common school), the *Mittelschule* (secondary school), and the *Hochschule* (university). This essay, therefore, resolves itself into three parts; but as the last of these has already been discussed by Prof. Eucken,[1] my task will be confined to a treatment of the first and second subdivisions of the subject.

The entire school system of Germany (private schools are of course omitted from this discussion) bears the unmistakable impress of state influence. The most noteworthy evidence of this influence is that education is compulsory. It was amid the stormy period of the Thirty Years' War that the city of Weimar introduced this bold and startling innovation. Here for the first time school-attendance became obligatory upon all. Gotha introduced the new system in 1642; Brunswick, in 1647; Würtemberg, in 1649; and Prussia, not until 1716. This compulsory education, however, must not be regarded as a restriction upon liberty; for it was devised principally as a safeguard against the indifference and ignorance of parents. That gratuitous education—during the elementary course at least—must necessarily constitute a corollary of the above system, has only recently been recognized. The introduction of free education in the lower departments must be considered as an important advance; for, by reason of this innovation, both the organization and the supervision of the school system are intrusted to the state itself, from which also all appointments proceed.

It cannot be said that this system is entirely free from defects. The first and paramount duty of our European states is to guard against aggression from without; and this duty, which is forced upon them by the enmity and rivalry of their neighbors, frequently overshadows the higher aims of civilization and culture. Our common schools, for in-

[1] "Liberty in Teaching in the German Universities," by Prof. R. EUCKEN in THE FORUM for December, 1897.

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stance, have seriously suffered from inadequate financial support. The fact, however, that the University of Berlin was established by Prussia immediately after her reverses at Jena proves that even then she recognized the true secret of power, viz., superior intelligence supported by solid education; and, despite occasional interruptions, Prussia has steadily pursued her high ideal. Nor can it be denied that state supervision has introduced some uniformity, formalism, and red tape—factors detrimental to educational progress. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that, without governmental control, the schools—in most German states—would be dominated either by an ultramontanism opposed to all enlightenment, or at least by a rigid and intolerant orthodoxy. Thus we see that the state must be regarded as a barrier against the encroachments of the church.

A resort to arbitrary measures on the part of the state is also improbable: for such a proceeding would be at once checked by that love of individual liberty peculiar to the Germanic race; and nowhere is this sentiment more pronounced than in the department of education. The independence of the several states of the Empire in educational matters furnishes an additional guarantee that power will not be arbitrarily exercised. This independence serves also to introduce variety into a system which might otherwise lead to strict uniformity; while it stimulates a most active competition among the various members of the confederation. It is true that the Dresden Conference of 1872 formulated a plan of instruction which contained regulations affecting all the middle schools of the Empire, and that it also appointed an Imperial School Commission. The regulations, however, were liberally construed, while the powers of the Commission were limited; consequently, the plan did not lead to uniformity. Again, in 1890, when the educational conference took place at Berlin, the Emperor of Germany suggested certain changes in the administration of the secondary schools of Prussia,—among other innovations, the eligibility of non-Prussian teachers for appointments in Prussian schools was solicited. Believing this measure to have been devised by Prussia merely for the purpose of securing control of the entire educational system, the states of Bavaria and Würtemberg at once introduced certain reforms of their own, by means of which the plans of Prussia were completely forestalled. This adroit move on the part of Bavaria and Würtemberg was everywhere hailed with satisfaction; for it was the general belief that by this means a serious danger had been averted.

Turning now to a consideration of the *Volksschule* (common school),

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we find that this institution, like the secondary school, was a creation of the state and not of the church, and that its foundation was due to the principle of compulsory education. The error of tracing the origin of the common school to the church arises from the fact that church influence has always been very powerful in the institution. In the majority of the German states, the common schools are organized according to creed; while the supervisors are recruited from the ranks of the clergy. Baden is the only exception to this rule. The question of reform, however, is now being strenuously agitated, more particularly in Würtemberg, where the demand is being made that the superintendence of common schools be intrusted to competent pedagogues. In 1892 Prussia submitted a new plan for the regulation of these schools. This plan, which was evidently designed for the purpose of converting the school into a clerical institution, was swept away by a veritable storm of opposition; and the principle of state control was once more victorious.

The introduction of compulsory education resulted in supplying the schools with pupils. Teachers, however, were lacking; and the subject-matter and methods of instruction were neglected.

The question of adequate remuneration for teachers was first discussed about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The first German seminary for common-school teachers was founded in 1698 at Gotha. Prussia followed in 1735. To-day, the maintenance of these institutions, which are constantly increasing in number, has become one of the principal functions of the state; and the high standard of excellence of our present corps of instructors is undoubtedly due to them. As regards adequacy of remuneration, there is still much to be desired. The most fortunate in this respect are the teachers in a few large cities. It may be said, also, that the smaller states of Germany have gone further than Prussia in providing an ample compensation for their teachers. In the Eastern districts of Prussia the conditions are still very unsatisfactory. The agrarian and feudal principles which still prevail in those sections are detrimental to progress. The situation in East Prussia affects the individual teacher by subjecting him to constant care and worriment. This, however, is not its worst feature. It has created wide-spread dissatisfaction among the entire profession; and such dissatisfaction must naturally retard the advancement of higher educational purposes. Yet, even here, the conditions are slowly, but surely, improving.

A higher culture on the part of teachers is now also considered requisite. The first to advocate an improvement in this regard was

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Prof. Diesterweg, the director of a "Teachers' Seminary" in Prussia. It was he who, during the fourth decade of the present century, championed the cause of our common-school teachers. His efforts were combated by the Reactionary party during the reign of Frederick William IV; and at this time also the Stiehl Act of 1854 was devised, in order to reduce the educational standard of the teachers to the lowest possible grade.

Although matters improved somewhat under the more liberal *régime* of the Falk ministry, no material advance was made. To-day, however, the question of a higher educational standard for common-school teachers is being widely discussed. It is true that there is still some difference of opinion as to requirements and methods. Some regard a familiarity with at least one foreign language as an indispensable qualification; others advocate attendance at a preparatory school; and a few even insist upon a preparatory course at a university. I, personally, have advocated the introduction of holiday courses at the university, similar to those now existing in America; and this plan has found favor among a large number of teachers. The most agreeable feature of the whole movement lies in the fact that it is conducted by the teachers themselves; and herein I believe we may find a guarantee of its ultimate success.

The educational requirements of teachers naturally stand in close relation to the subjects and methods of instruction. The question of a suitable curriculum was not agitated until the advent of Pestalozzi. It was he who paved the way to a rational system of common-school pedagogues,—a system which Prussia was the first to introduce into Germany. Fichte and Wilhelm von Humboldt were among the most enthusiastic admirers of the great Swiss educator, to whom many young Prussians were sent, in order that they might acquire his methods. The common schools of Prussia were established upon the Pestalozzian system; and these schools afterward became the model for those of other German states. It is true that they are characterized by a certain formalism, which the innovations of Herbart only served to increase. Too much stress is laid upon the method itself, which, after all, is but the means to an end. On the other hand, it is well to remember that a certain degree of formalism is indispensable to the multitude, who so frequently are lacking in independent judgment. I feel certain that, despite this rigidity of method, men of ability will still be enabled to develop their ideas according to their individual convictions.

Pestalozzi has been accepted in Germany both as a schoolman and

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as a master of method. From him arithmetic and observation-study received their first great impulse. The social element in Pestalozzi, however, which revealed itself in his advocacy of a general popular training, has only recently been recognized. We are now beginning to perceive that one of the principal defects of our common-school system is its one-sided intellectual attitude. Too much stress is laid upon reading and writing, and, more particularly, upon the element of orthography, the use of which in German is somewhat arbitrary and, consequently, valueless as an educational factor. Our elementary instruction should be of a more practical nature; and the development of the reasoning powers should be more strongly accentuated. Manual training is now recognized as an important factor; and the introduction of this element into our schools is rapidly progressing. At Leipsic there is now a special seminary for manual training; and a society, aiming at the extension of this branch of education, has recently sprung into existence. The introduction of the study of law into our common schools is now also being considered. It remains to be seen to what extent this subject may be profitably taught to pupils under fourteen. A knowledge of law would undoubtedly be beneficial to those who are compelled to leave school at that age. The question involved is one of great importance, and deserves careful consideration.

Our common schools have lost their religious character, once so pronounced. Besides subjects of general importance, such as German, drawing, history, and civics, both agriculture and special technical subjects are now taught. The *Fortbildungschulen*, which devote some attention to the above branches, should not, however, be confounded with our special "Technical Institutes." Instruction in housekeeping now constitutes a special branch of female education in the progressive schools; while thorough instruction in knitting and sewing is already given in the common schools.

I now turn to a consideration of the moral element. It has been frequently said of the German schools that they instruct too much, and impart too little moral training. This censure, however, is unmerited. The school, as such, undoubtedly tends to develop public spirit; and it teaches the individual to subordinate his own welfare to that of the commonwealth. Good schooling is inseparable from moral training; and I cannot agree with those—the Herbartians, for example—who would impress their own particular views on morality upon the mind of youth. It is true, however, that our half-grown youths, say those of fourteen to eighteen years, whose schooling has frequently been insuffi-

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cient, suffer from a lack of moral training. In this respect, also, the progressive course which has been introduced into our common schools will be fruitful of good results. Thus we see how much there is still undeveloped, still to be perfected. I believe, however, that this condition is not derogatory, but creditable, to us. It shows that we are not stagnating, but steadily progressing.

I regret that this cannot be said also of our secondary schools, the present condition of which may truthfully be said to be a critical one. Instead of uniting in the pursuit of a common goal, the forces here are split into factions. The establishment of the *Gymnasium* antedates that of the common school. It assumed its modern form during the humanistic sixteenth century. During the seventeenth, and far into the eighteenth, century the *Gymnasium* perceptibly declined. It revived, however, under the influence of such intellectual leaders as Herder, Winckelmann, Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, and William von Humboldt. The last, in his capacity of Prussian Minister of Culture, introduced the spirit of modern humanism into the *Gymnasium*. The aim of Humboldt, like that of Pestalozzi, was the uplifting of the German mind: the enthusiastic efforts of the modern humanists, whose scientific leader was the eminent philologist, Augustus Wolf, were directed more particularly toward raising the status of the *Gymnasium*. The study of Latin and Greek was still considered of primary importance —an importance enhanced by reason of the stress now laid upon the æsthetic and historical bearing of these languages. At the same time, the physical sciences demanded an ever-wider consideration in the curriculum. This constant extension of the realistic sciences, combined with the already exacting demands of the classics, tended to an overcrowding of the curriculum.

As early as the third decade of the present century pedagogues and physicians issued warnings against the dangers which might arise from a further extension of study; and this matter is still a point of discussion. It must be admitted, however, that many of these complaints are somewhat exaggerated, and that they not infrequently savor of effeminacy. As it is, our school officials have already made too many concessions. One unfortunate result of these concessions has been that the classics have been forced farther and farther into the background; while the time devoted to their study has been considerably shortened. Owing to the existence of the *Realschulen* (special schools devoted to the pursuit of the natural sciences) this abridgment of the classics in our *Gymnasien* was perhaps unnecessary.

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The *Realschulen* are more recent institutions than the *Gymnasien*. They were established at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *i.e.*, at a time when the practical spirit of modern life began to manifest its presence in every department of thought and action. For a long time the *Realschulen* had the character of technical schools; and the propagation of general culture was regarded as of but secondary importance. Indeed, the true mission of these schools was not recognized until about the second decade of the present century. As understood to-day, their mission consists in preparing the student for an active participation in all the practical affairs of life; for which purpose the study of the physical sciences, modern languages, and mathematics is deemed of especial importance. On this account the adoption of Latin as part of the curriculum was left entirely to the discretion of the school. As a knowledge of Latin, however, is considered a necessary qualification to civil service in Prussia, most of the *Realschulen* instituted a Latin course. As this was not done for pedagogical purposes, but solely as a matter of expediency, the instruction thus given was naturally of a somewhat desultory character.

There are to-day in Prussia two classes of *Realschulen*—Latin and non-Latin—or, as they have been designated since 1859, *Realgymnasien* and *Realschulen*. In South Germany, and more particularly in Würtemberg, the *Realgymnasium* sprang from the *Gymnasium* itself. In the South German institutions pupils who omitted the Greek course were formed into classes in which English, mathematics, and physics were taught. In 1867 these classes were separated entirely from the *Gymnasium*, and became the nucleus of a distinct institution.

As a result of this development, our secondary schools may be divided into three classes, viz., *Humanistische Gymnasien*, *Realgymnasien*, and *Latein Realschulen*. This division is undoubtedly advantageous, as it prevents uniformity. Regarded from a practical point of view, however, it is not without serious drawbacks. To cities of medium size, the maintenance of three distinct school-organizations was a great expense; also, with these conditions, the selection of a proper school was frequently a matter of considerable difficulty. For this reason, the formation of a "Unified School" was suggested; and the plan, formulated in Frankfort, providing for such a school, has met with considerable favor in Prussia. This plan provides for a unification of the three above-mentioned divisions of the secondary schools. French is taught at the beginning of the course; while Latin is introduced in the fourth, and Greek in the sixth term. As the system has not gone beyond the ex-

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perimental stage, an expression of opinion as to its merits would be somewhat premature. One of the principal objections to the system is the introduction of French before Latin. Whoever recognizes the importance of Latin as a grammatical basis for the Romanic languages must necessarily condemn a system which gives precedence to French. The very late introduction of Greek must also be regarded as a serious objection, as it precludes the possibility of acquiring a thorough knowledge of that language. I regard it as a grievous pedagogical error to fatigue pupils of fourteen to sixteen years with declensions, etc. Such elementary instruction is better adapted to pupils of ten to twelve, who might profitably devote one hour daily to this study. Those above the age of fourteen require material of a more intellectual order. As it is, the knowledge of the classical languages is steadily declining; and, should it sink considerably below its present level, we shall have a discussion as to its actual utility—except, perhaps, for theological and philological purposes. I cannot agree with those who regard the unified schools as favorable to the classics; on the contrary, I believe their establishment indicates the beginning of the end of the humanistic system. At present the question of the classics is being debated; and the end of the discussion is yet far distant.

As regards organization, the school is virtually a union of three, or, strictly speaking, of four systems, divided into nine classes. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. The pupil enters the sixth and lowest grade at the age of nine or ten, and graduates at about eighteen or nineteen. Now the question arises, whether it would not be better to begin the study of foreign languages at twelve, or thereabouts, rather than at the early age of nine. Another and more serious difficulty, brought about by the establishment of the unified school, lies in the question of eligibility to the university. The principal aim of the humanistic gymnasium was to enable the pupil to select any of the faculties at the university: the *Realschule*, on the other hand, qualified him for admission to a technical institute only. The graduates of the unified school (*Realgymnasium*), however, claimed the right to enter either of the above-named institutions; and this right was called into question by the universities. While the latter were willing to admit graduates of the *Realgymnasium* to a course in mathematics, physics, or modern languages, they positively refused to admit them into the medical faculty, for which the diploma of the humanistic gymnasium was still regarded as essential. I personally incline to the opinion that the graduates of the *Realgymnasium* are, in some respects, better qualified to enter the

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university than are their colleagues of the humanistic gymnasium; for the *Realgymnasium* affords an excellent preparatory training in mathematics and physics—departments of the utmost value to the student of medicine.

Greek, another important element of the humanistic gymnasium, is no longer regarded as absolutely essential to the student of medicine: it is merely an ornament, an accomplishment. Upon the whole, I believe that we Germans are too painfully particular as to methods, and that our educational lines are altogether too precise. Young men, however gifted and thorough, cannot enter upon a professional career unless they have complied with every minute requirement of a long and complicated system. I am in favor of abrogating the so-called monopoly of the humanistic gymnasium; and I am also opposed to the excess of formalism and officialism which has crept into our schools.

Another serious drawback of our educational system arises from the relation between the school and the voluntary service of one year's duration in the army; only those being exempt from the full term of military service who have successfully passed the examination in the *Untersecunda* (sub-junior class) of a secondary school. An arrangement so foreign to educational purposes must necessarily be condemned. It may be useful to the army organization; it may also induce many to attend the secondary school, who would otherwise remain away; nevertheless, it must be considered a source of serious injury to the school itself, as it brings into it an element which has but one aim in view—qualification for the voluntary service. Frequently destitute of inclination or ability, these scholars remain throughout a course of six years, *i.e.*, to the end of the sub-junior year; acting as an encumbrance upon the other pupils, and tending to lower the standard of instruction. Nor is this all.

I have already stated that many of the aspirants to the voluntary service leave school immediately after the final examination at the end of the sub-junior year. Now this examination—introduced by Prussia in 1891—seriously interferes with the general progress of the school, and particularly affects the four upper classes. The abolition of this law is now universally solicited. When the term of active military service was reduced from three years to two, the belief was general that the institution of the voluntary service would cease to exist. It remained unchanged, however; and the school is still compelled to suffer from the pernicious influence thus exerted.

Here the question arises, whether we do not indeed overestimate the

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importance of our examinations. In this regard, I believe in the axiom, "the fewer, the better." This, of course, does not apply to the *Abiturientenexamen* (final examination for the university) which takes place at the end of the full course of nine years. The abolition of this examination has also been urged upon the ground that, after all, the faculty are the most competent judges as to the qualifications of would-be graduates. I personally am in favor of a public examination conducted by a state commissioner, who assumes all the responsibility for the result. In this way the interests of the faculty, as well as those of the public, are protected; while the students, in order to prepare for the examination, are compelled to undertake a general review, which must prove of great benefit to them.

Despite its defects, we may justly take pride in the results attained by our secondary systems; and these results may be attributed mainly to the excellence of our staff of instructors. Our teachers must be qualified for their profession by a university training; and they must comply with the requirements of a rigorous state examination before they receive their diploma. In addition to this scientific training, a preparatory pedagogical course is now also considered essential. For a long time teaching was considered as a natural gift,—something that could not be acquired. Recent developments, however, have proved the fallacy of this assumption; and radical reforms are being seriously contemplated. The question now at issue is whether pedagogics can best be taught at the university or at the gymnasium. The majority of the German states have decided in favor of the latter; but a criticism as to the value of this one-year course would at present be altogether premature. It is to be feared that the free development of individuality would be more seriously hampered at the gymnasium than at the university; a fixed belief in the infallibility of some one method being a proverbial characteristic of the former institution.

A deplorable circumstance, which deserves mention in this connection, is the refusal of the Government to give our teachers a salary commensurate with their increased efficiency, and to place them upon an equal footing with the other officials of the state. The solution of this question must, however, be left to the future.

The results obtained in the various departments of knowledge have, upon the whole, been extremely satisfactory; but the instruction in the classical languages has given rise to considerable debate. The very learned manner in which the science of philology is treated in Germany also affects the schools, which are altogether too philological. This

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difficulty might be removed by instilling into the minds of our pedagogical students at the gymnasium the importance of the principle of practical utility as opposed to an indefinite extension of a cumbrous and unnecessary scientific knowledge. A more serious evil, however, arises from the constant reduction of the time devoted to Latin and Greek. At first it was thought that improved methods might justify an economy of time without entailing a loss of material; but these hopes were destined to be disappointed. It is true that in consequence of more direct methods a little Latin may now be rapidly acquired; but a thorough knowledge of the ancient languages and familiarity with classical literature are the results of long and systematic cultivation. In this respect, public opinion also deserves consideration. The ancient languages are not so highly valued to-day as they were formerly; for the utilitarian spirit—which I by no means desire to condemn—is in the ascendant. This condition has brought about a gradual decline of the classics; and the day may not be very distant when their very *raison d'être* will be called into question. To many of us, such a contingency would be a matter of sincere regret; but, whatever our personal feelings, we may have to bow to the inevitable.

The complaint has been recently made that the time devoted to Latin and Greek seriously interferes with the study of German and history. I cannot share this opinion: on the contrary, I hold that, with the exception of the time allotted to modern languages, every hour spent in school involves a lesson in German. Moreover, I believe that the linguistic training obtained by the study of Latin grammar cannot fail to be highly beneficial also in its application to German. A minute grammatical analysis of the German language is not congenial to our boys: it wearies them, and really appears unnecessary. Moreover, nothing promotes proficiency in reading so much as careful and systematic translating. For this reason, printed translations are less serviceable than the original Latin and Greek texts.

As regards the study of history, it has been urged that our pupils should be conducted directly to Leipsic and Sedan, instead of travelling thither by the roundabout way of Thermopylæ and Cairo. As if ancient history did not furnish the very highest examples of patriotism in all its grandeur and simplicity! How unwise it would be to initiate the people at once into the complex political conditions of modern times! It cannot be denied that there was a time when the study of ancient history was too strongly accentuated; yet a thorough knowledge of so important a subject must certainly be regarded as a distinct advantage.

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Another subject of dispute is the relative importance of the political departments of history. That the study of civics is gradually growing in favor, cannot be denied. The scholastic treatment of such a subject, however, is attended with considerable difficulty. As it is, the fate of European nations has always been decided upon the battle-field. It will therefore be necessary, notwithstanding the protests of our Peace Societies, to familiarize our pupils with the wars of the past. Both departments of history should be treated with equal consideration; for we can dispense with neither of them.

Probably the most important results of our new methods may be observed in the department of modern languages. Here the synthetic has been superseded by the analytic method. Using the reader as a basis, the pupil seeks at once to familiarize himself with the oral language. This, however, is by no means an easy task—particularly for pupils of little ability. As regards the phonetic method, this is as yet but sparingly used.

The subject of mathematics, as now taught in our gymnasiums, is altogether too exacting; and the pupils are overburdened with material. Less knowledge is acquired in this way than is generally supposed; while the sense of honesty of the pupils is seriously jeopardized,—a most unfortunate circumstance, when we consider that the study of mathematics, apart from its intellectual value, has been always regarded as a powerful moral agent.

Natural science is as yet taught merely in a general way. This study is fruitful of good results only when it acts as a stimulus to independent investigation and experimenting. This is true of all branches of study; and I am happy to say that in this respect the German schools are to be commended, as independent investigation is everywhere encouraged. At the same time the scholastic character must be preserved; and the censure frequently directed against us by reason of our exactness of method is really undeserved. There might, indeed, be some justification for this censure, were it not for the freedom and independence of action prevailing at our universities,—institutions which are positively unrivalled in this particular. Now the best preparative for this freedom of action may be found in the strict routine of our schools, where the conscientious performance of a stated task is made a daily requirement. What has been inculcated at school, by precept and practice, is cheerfully and voluntarily performed at the university.

What has been said of mathematics applies also to philosophy. I am opposed to a further extension of this study at the gymnasium; be-

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lieving that its elaborate cultivation lies more particularly within the province of the university. It is in the latter institution that the future teacher of our secondary school becomes imbued with the philosophical spirit so essential to his vocation.

Our present school organization is designed primarily to meet the requirements of a military and official system; nevertheless, the question of commercial training is now also receiving serious consideration. As a rule, young men desirous of entering upon a commercial career leave the gymnasium as soon as they receive the certificate qualifying them for the voluntary army service; while those who wish to continue their studies remain until the end of the course. Naturally the *Realschulen* and *Realgymnasien* are better adapted to the requirements of these young men than is the humanistic gymnasium. The lack of special commercial institutes, however, is now seriously felt; and it is to be hoped that the plan for the establishment of a *Handelsschule* (commercial institute) will soon be carried into execution.

A few words concerning the education of our girls may not be out of place here.

In the common schools, the course for the girls is practically identical with that for the boys—with the exception, perhaps, that manual training for boys has only recently been introduced as a counterpart to the needlework of the girls. Beyond these schools there are also numerous seminaries for the training of teachers. In this respect, indeed, the supply is already in excess of the demand.

Less gratifying is the picture presented in the higher departments of female education. Here the inequality of instruction in the various states is still very marked. Probably the best equipped are the larger cities of Baden: in other localities the conditions are still very unsatisfactory. Pupils are already admitted into our female institutes at the age of six. After passing through ten classes they graduate at the age of sixteen: they are permitted, however, to leave at fourteen if they so desire. Prussia has recently effected a radical change, by limiting the number of classes to nine, instead of ten as heretofore. This shortens the term by one year—and lowers the standard of female education accordingly. The so-called "voluntary select course" of one year, which has been substituted by Prussia, is nothing more than an educational tidbit—an inducement to dilettanteism. The organization of nine classes particularly affects those who desire to enter the "Teachers' Seminary." The latter institution still adheres to the old plan, and accepts no pupil

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under the age of sixteen; consequently, the graduate of fifteen must wait an entire year before obtaining admission to it. Such an interval of enforced idleness, at a period when the incentive to study is by no means powerful, must necessarily prove injurious. Our "Female Institutes" are mainly private enterprises; here and there they are under municipal control; while in Baden they are principally organized by the state. In consequence of these varying conditions the institutes are characterized by a pronounced inequality, as regards both the curriculum and the results obtained.

In conclusion, let me say that we are ever ready to acknowledge our defects; and herein lies the secret of our strength. We differ from America, inasmuch as we are an old nation, with a school system that has its history and its traditions. This is a source both of strength and of weakness. Nevertheless, we do not rest upon our past achievements.

THEOBALD ZIEGLER.

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THE IDEAL TRAINING OF THE AMERICAN GIRL.

In my article on "The Ideal Training of an American Boy," in The Forum for July, 1894, I said that, since freedom is "the ferment and self-realizing energy of American life," and may be defined as "that power which necessarily belongs to the self-conscious being, of determining his actions in view of the highest, the universal good," freedom, thus defined, must be the aim of American education. And this holds good for the education of girls. America stands for simple, universal humanity, whose essential constituent is rational moral life, or life in the whole, and can admit no specialization of education for different sexes or classes, except in so far as this is demanded by the natural or institutional organization of that life itself. A woman is, first of all, a human being and a free spirit; and, as such, she claims an education into actual freedom.

In trying to outline, then, the education of the American girl, as differing from that of the American boy, we must begin by inquiring what are the special functions of women in the institutions of moral life,—the functions which they alone can perform, or can perform better than men. This inquiry is not a difficult one. The only functions which women alone can perform lie in the sphere of the family. When we come into the larger spheres of economic production, state, and church, or into those of science, art, literature, and education, we find it almost impossible to name a function for which women have not shown themselves in some degree suited. They have been excellent farmers, manufacturers, merchants, lawyers, councillors, sovereigns, doctors, preachers, mathematicians, physicists, astronomers, teachers, professors, college presidents, sculptors, painters, architects, poets, novelists, actresses, and so forth. At the same time, it argues a distinct bias, to deny that there are in economic, social, and political life, as well as in the arts and sciences, certain functions for which women are less well fitted than men, and others for which they are better fitted; and, though perhaps there will always be a few brilliant exceptions to any rule laid down in this matter, the obvious fact has to be taken into account in dealing with women's education.

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The important question is: Can we discover any principle determining, in a general way, the extra-family functions for which women have an aptitude equal to, or greater than, that of men, and excluding those for which they have little or no aptitude? It seems as if we could. Though all the elements of spiritual activity—intelligence, affection, will—are present in both sexes, they are not present in the same proportion. If we regard affection or desire as the primitive fact in human nature,—as, indeed, it is in all that lives,—and intelligence and will as partial differentiations of this, we may say that undifferentiated affection predominates in women, and differentiated intelligence and will in men.

Regarded from this point of view, women might perhaps be said to belong to a more primitive type of humanity than men. While men place an interval between thought and act, women are apt to follow feelings directly, in a half-instinctive way. In other words, while men, through reflection, base their actions on consciously recognized general principles, women are wont to respond emotionally to individual and concrete cases. This is the reason why the latter so often show more ready tact and intuition, more conservatism and conscientiousness, but less originality, than the former. This comes out curiously in school-life. If, when a theme for an essay is set to a mixed class of young men and women, distinct directions be given as to form, method, and length, and the sources of information named, the young women will do best. If, on the contrary, no directions or references are given, and the pupils are left to shift for themselves, so that research and originality are called for, the young men will do best. I have often made this experiment.

We may say, then, that, while men are best fitted for those occupations that call for reflection, original thought, and the discovery of new principles, women are best fitted for those that call for the ready application of old and well-known principles. This is attested in numerous ways by the facts of history. Women cling to old habits, customs, and fashions—not to speak of superstitions and religions—much longer than men; while they rarely show themselves inventors, even in their own sphere of activity. The sewing-machine was the invention of men; and so, no doubt, were the loom and the spinning-wheel. Men acquire and produce: women receive and preserve. And along with this mental difference goes a physical difference. Men, as a rule, are larger, stronger, and more aggressive; women are finer, more tender, and more sympathetic. This, of course, implies no inferiority of one sex to the

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other. Both types of character are equally essential to social well-being.

It may, however, be said that, while these differences must obviously be admitted as regards the past, it were well that they should disappear in the future, and, therefore, that the education of boys and girls should now, as far as possible, be the same. This is the view of all those persons who have a passion for monotonous uniformity, as well as of those advocates of women's rights who persist in making these mean men's rights. But such passion and advocacy are, it seems to me, only evidences of crudity and want of culture. As these are left behind, more and more delight will be derived from harmony in difference, so that the tendency will be to emphasize, rather than otherwise, the distinctive characteristics of man and woman, and to show how they supplement each other.

From what has been said, it may be concluded that there are three things to be steadily kept in view in the education of girls: (1) They must be educated as free beings, as beings who are ends in and for themselves, and whose relations to institutions are to be freely entered upon, not imposed from without; (2) they must receive such instruction as shall enable them to maintain this attitude toward the domestic, economic, social, political, and religious worlds; and (3) they must be prepared to fill the positions of wife and mother, should they freely decide to place themselves therein.

As far as the first of these aims is concerned, there need not be any very great difference between the education of girls and that of boys. As free spirits, both have the same end, namely, self-realization; and they reach it by the same means,—by clear insight into the nature and meaning of life, by strong, well-distributed affection, and by beneficent will, regulated by insight and affection, all of them depending, for their fullest exercise, upon a healthy, well-trained body. Truth is the same for men and women; affectional or moral values are the same for both; the wills of both have the same end. Two differences, indeed, there are: (1) Even when the same instruction is given, its content will be emphasized somewhat differently by the two sexes. Boys will show more interest in pure theory, in the solution of difficult problems, for example; girls, in what appeals to emotion. (2) Naturally, too, physical training for girls will have to be less violent than for boys. As to the former of these, it does not follow that there need be any difference in the instruction. What is needed is rather a judicious combination of male and female teachers, and perhaps a certain difference in examinations.

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Here comes up the much-vexed question of coeducation, which seems to me never to have been presented in its proper light, or with the necessary distinctions; and this for the reason that no clear line has been drawn between education for spiritual culture and education for a vocation. As far as the former is concerned, I believe that everything is gained, and nothing lost, by coeducation. The fear, long entertained, that it would lead to precocious love-making and other unfortunate relations between the sexes, has, by ample experience in our common and high schools, and in many of our colleges, been proved utterly groundless. There is no country in the world in which the relations between the sexes are so simple, natural, free, and healthy as in the United States, and this, it can hardly be doubted, is largely due to coeducation. Nor is it difficult to account for this result. In the class-room young men and women learn to know, and, knowing, to respect, each other in a way and to a degree hardly possible elsewhere. Each sex behaves more humanly because the other is present: each sees the other engaged in serious work,—the best way for anybody to be seen.

Nor has the other fear, that coeducation might lower the standard of work for both sexes, proved better grounded. Institutions where coeducation prevails are in no way inferior, in point of scholarship, to those where it is forbidden. As far, then, as education for the ends of culture is concerned, there is no reason why, save in the matter of gymnastics, there should be any difference between the education of girls and that of boys. For an *ideal* education, and of that I am now speaking, many conditions are necessary, *e.g.*, cultivated parents, alive to their parental duties and possessing ample means, and healthy and intelligent children. These being given, it will be found that, up to the time of going to college, education under the direction of parents in private Kindergartens and schools, or under tutors and governesses, is preferable to education in public institutions or away from the influence of parents. Private education makes possible a good deal of home and foreign travel,—an element essential to an ideal education. Travel, when properly conducted, widens the intellectual, æsthetic, and moral horizon, encourages a healthy patriotism, and, at the same time, does away with petty national insularity, such as is painfully common among persons who have never been beyond the limits of their own country. It is needless to add that, in this matter, everything depends upon the culture, efficiency, and tact of travelling tutors and governesses.

If coeducation is good in precollegiate education, it is no less so in collegiate. The sole aim of the latter ought to be culture, without any

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reference to future vocation; and culture recognizes sex only in so far as it recognizes relations between the sexes, which relations can be best and most healthily dealt with when the sexes are in presence of each other. The exclusion of women from our older colleges, or the refusal to admit them on equal terms with men, is a mere remnant of mediævalism and of a barbarian view of women, as ridiculous as would be a robber-baron's castle in the centre of Massachusetts or New York.

The truth is that, since much of the best of life—for whose sake all education is—depends upon a noble and healthy relation between the sexes, it is of the utmost importance for the ideal education of both that they should go through college together. Here, where both are free (as they ought to be), and where they are old enough to understand the meaning of manhood and womanhood, they can meet, as nowhere else, on the plane of serious purpose and wide, lofty interests, before their members adjourn to the winter drawing-room or the summer piazza. In any case, young women ought to receive a collegiate education, and enjoy the advantages of free collegiate life. Though our colleges, even the best of them, are sadly deficient in ideals of culture and unity of method,[1] yet no tutors or governesses can adequately take their place for either sex.

College life is the transition from school-life to practical life, having, in common with the former, culture for its aim; in common with the latter, personal freedom. This freedom, however, ought not to extend, save in a very slight degree, to the choice of studies. Every college ought to have a fixed curriculum, carefully and systematically arranged with reference to a clear and lofty ethical ideal, and with a view to developing, in a harmonious way, all the faculties, intellectual, affectional, and volitional, of its students; at the same time imparting to them such a connected view of the world of nature and spirit, and of their own place, task, and destiny therein, as shall send them out into that world ready to undertake the business of life with robust courage and steady, rational aim. The "elective system" of studies, which has recently been introduced into some of our colleges, must, I think, be regarded as an almost unqualified evil from the point of view of spiritual culture. It is a tacit admission on the part of the authorities of

[1] This condition of things is largely due to the fact that most of them are still in the hands of an obsolete orthodoxy, hostile to that view of nature and history which science reveals, and which, therefore, should form the basis of education; while the rest, out of respect or fear for the same orthodoxy, dare not openly say where they stand,—indeed, perhaps hardly know themselves.

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such colleges, that they have no clear ideal of culture, and that they, therefore, think it best to leave their students to grope about in a staked-off chaos as best they can. The result is that "marks" usually replace culture, as the aim of study. Incidentally it may be remarked that this lamentable state of things is mainly due to two causes, besides the want of an ideal of culture: (1) the fact that it seems impossible for our college faculties ever to distinguish between culture—which is the sole aim of a college—and erudition and professional training, which form the aim of a university; and (2) the further fact, that in recent years it has become customary to appoint as college presidents, not profound scholars nor men of wide, generous culture, devoted to lofty human ideals, but shrewd business men, who care more to turn their charges into "big concerns," with a large "plant" and a large business, than to do good work in their proper sphere. Women's colleges, which ought never to have existed, and, but for the ungenerosity and narrowness of men's colleges, probably never would have existed, are apparently, in the main, exempt from this evil.

It is not possible to sketch here, even in outline, the scheme of a college culture-curriculum; but one thing may be said with certainty, viz., that, while not neglecting the natural sciences, it will occupy itself chiefly with the cultural sciences,—those that deal with human nature and history. Such a curriculum is especially adapted to women. It appeals to their chief interest, which is always in things human; it offers scope for their emotions; and, if made to include a sane philosophy and a history of thought and its aberrations, goes far to save them from two influences to which they are specially liable, and which are wont to paralyze their best energies,—unreflecting belief in some form of religious dogmatism, and devotion to some crude species of materialistic mysticism. Such salvation may be regarded as one of the chief aims of the higher education of women.

Since science has been at work on the records and material of the old faiths, the religious world has more and more tended to divide itself into two camps,—one determined to cling to the old creeds and to close its ears against all arguments, proofs, and facts conflicting with them; the other prepared to follow the truth wherever it may lead. Between these is a vast number of half-educated people, consisting largely of women, who, having for very insufficient reasons abandoned the old beliefs, and yet not being strong enough to follow the path of free inquiry, or to accept what it leads to, have found refuge in some form of gross superstition, such as "Christian Science," "Mental Sci-

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ence," "Metaphysics," "Theosophy," "Astrology," etc.[1] As a matter of fact, the very large majority of American women, even in good society, are to-day the dupes either of a blind, *unreasoned* faith in traditional dogmas,[2] or of crass superstition,—in either case victims of intellectual despotism and spiritual slaves. Now, the only way in which the women of the future can be saved from such conditions is by being thoroughly trained in the method of scientific proof, in logical reasoning, and in the history of thought. These subjects ought, therefore, to have a prominent place in the curriculum of every college attended by women.

Women who have passed through a college course of the sort I have indicated, and thus obtained a general view of the field and scope of human activity, will be in a position to choose suitable professions. And every American woman ought to prepare for a profession, no matter what her position or prospects. By that she becomes independent; and independence is the prime condition of moral action. If she be poor, it will enable her to live without becoming a burden to others, or being forced into uncongenial matrimony, the worst of misfortunes. If she be rich, it will open a way for extensive and rational beneficence. If she marry, it will be to her the pattern of thorough work in all directions. If she remain single, it will give purpose, unity, and interest to her life, and save her from the pathetic fate, so common now, of the old maid who can do nothing in particular. In any case, every woman ought to secure independence and a sphere of usefulness by learning a profession.

Up to this point, it has seemed well that the sexes should be educated together and instructed in the same subjects. The reasons for this are, that spiritual culture is the same for man and for woman, and that this culture is best imparted where the two are in presence of each other. When we pass on from the college to the university, we pass from culture to erudition and professional training. These last two

[1] The number of women, even in cultivated circles, ay, and in cultured Boston, who devote themselves and their money to the absurdities and duperies of astrology is truly surprising, nay, incredible.

[2] Against *reasoned* faith there is, of course, nothing to say; but this is widely dreaded as the worst of heresies. Not long ago the head of a prominent ladies' school in New York told me that a very large number of his pupils came to him "all covered over with padlocks"; which he explained to mean that they entered the school with a host of provisos on the part of parents, that nothing should be done to make their daughters think independently on any of the great questions affecting life—religion, ethics, class distinctions, society, etc.—lest they should disturb the dead level of unreasoned beliefs and prejudices in the respectable circles in which they hoped to move. Is it any wonder that such girls fall a prey to superstition?

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form the task of the university; and from that task no form of erudition and no kind of professional training ought to be excluded,—not even cookery. The present limitation in university studies is mainly due to a survival of certain ancient and mediæval notions, by which an invidious and most blinding and hurtful distinction is drawn between the "liberal" professions and the illiberal. Nothing could be more utterly absurd or inexcusable in a republic like ours, nothing more likely to give rise to practical contradictions and complications. In a university[1] every science and art ought to be duly represented, and the greatest freedom in choice of studies permitted. No degrees ought to be given (degrees are remnants of scholastic barbarism); but every student who has successfully pursued any study should receive a certificate to that effect.

In such a university it is evident that there would be ample room for both men and women. Yet it does not follow that all the courses should be open to the two sexes alike. Here a certain amount of separation seems called for. Young men will not be apt to study housekeeping or millinery; while young women will hardly study mining, navigation, or street-cleaning. Moreover, where the two do pursue the same courses, they will not always pursue them together. There ought to be separate classes for men and women in anatomy, some phases of sociology, and perhaps in biology and physiology. Altogether, the number of separate courses would not be great. Some of these, however, every woman ought to consider it her duty to pursue; for example, all those relating to the functions and duties of wifehood and motherhood, to domestic economy, and the like. Instructed in these subjects, armed with a bread-winning profession, and secure in a liberal, all-sided culture, fitting her to grace any social circle and to take a worthy part in every movement aiming at human improvement, the American girl may regard herself as having received an ideal education.

So far, however, such an education is *merely* ideal. Before it can become a reality for any one woman, however strong or well-situated, great changes must take place in our whole educational system; and before it can become possible, *as it ought to be*, for every woman, still greater changes will have to be made, not only in our educational, but also in our entire social system. It is the disgrace of disgraces that here in democratic America, whose ideal of civilization is the highest in the world,—theoretically the highest conceivable,—any citizen, male

[1] Our American universities are half-mediæval, half-monastic, and wholly unsuited to the spiritual, social, economic, and political needs of a democracy. The true American university is altogether a thing of the future.

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or female, should pass through life without being able to realize that spiritual development, that unfolding of insight, affection, and will which are the sole aim and purpose of life, and which alone give it significance. Nor will this disgrace—far blacker than that of negro slavery, as extending to a far greater multitude, and implying a worse slavery, the spiritual slavery of ignorance, unsympathy, and weakness—be removed from us, until some great patriot of the type of Garrison and Phillips shall come forward and, with a persistent voice that shall compel a hearing, say: "Fellow-citizens, men and women of education, let us be truly patriotic, true to the ideal of America and of democracy. Let us consign to the second place our merely personal interests, our devotion to wealth, comfort, show, and position; and let us raise to the first place the public interest, a loyal devotion to the true, the spiritual well-being of our fellow-citizens, all and each, male and female. Let us think more lightly of fine houses, fine clothes, fine carriages, fine horses, broad acres, and all the other worldly and material things that minister to a mere animal and temporal satisfaction, and let us seek to surround ourselves with fine men and fine women, broad-minded, deep-hearted, strong-willed beings who, to all eternity, may, through their wisdom, love, and energy, be a joy to themselves and to us. Let our chief pride be in the nobleness of our fellow-citizens: let them be our jewels, our wealth. And, with a view to this, let us establish and endow in the midst, yea, as the very pulse-giving heart, of every community in the land, a university in the true sense of the word, an institution for inspiration and instruction to every man, woman, and child, in every science and art needful for the realization of a noble human life. Let us learn to live simply, and devote our vast wealth to this worthiest of all human ends, universal spiritual perfection—the only ultimate end that we can rationally conceive, and in which alone any true and abiding satisfaction or blessedness can be found. Let us, in one word, live for humanity!"

Could some potent voice come with authority and impress sentiments like these upon the cultivated portion of our people, there might soon arise, over the length and breadth of the land, real American, democratic universities, beside which the poor, drivelling, mediæval institutions which we now call universities—and in which about 1 per cent of our citizens, for a few years in their raw youth, receive a chaotic instruction destitute of ideals and, to a great extent, of relation to real life—would be glad to hide their heads. Then young women, as well as young men, might realize an ideal education.

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Two things may be regarded as certain: (1) That only by universal college and university education (which this nation is well able to give) can the ideal of our republic ever become a reality, and an end be put to all those restless movements of unculture that threaten our freedom and even our existence,—assertive millionairism, socialism, anarchism, and their fellows; and (2) that the first city in the Union whose wealthy and cultured inhabitants meet and agree to establish and endow in the midst of them a great educational institution, to be open day and evening for all classes of the people, and offering systematic instruction suited to the needs of every class, at such prices as each can afford to pay, will have taken the next important step forward in civilization, and have laid the first stone of the only foundation upon which our democracy can safely and permanently stand. One would like to draw up the curriculum for such a university! THOMAS DAVIDSON.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION.

It has long been the custom in this country to dilate upon the magnitude of the function of the public school; and everybody believes in popular education. There are about fourteen million children in our public schools; and they are instructed by some three or four hundred thousand teachers. These children are under the direct influence of their teachers from three to six hours a day for the larger part of the year. The mere mention of these facts is enough to show the transcendent importance of the teacher's work. This, too, is recognized by everybody. But, when we consider this fact, a very puzzling question arises, viz.: Why is it that a calling of such supreme importance to the social, moral, and political welfare of the country is not more highly esteemed? Of course, certain teachers are highly regarded for their personal qualities, and in some localities the teacher, as such, is highly esteemed; but, as a profession, I think it is true that the teacher's calling is not nearly so much respected as that of the physician, the lawyer, or the clergyman. While in this country the teacher's calling is depreciated, in England it seems to be actually despised.

A few years ago, Max O'Rell propounded this problem to the readers of the "Pall Mall Gazette": "Why do the English people regard the occupation of a schoolmaster with contempt?" Various answers were given. Mr. Mitchell,[1] commenting on this, says:

> "The significant thing is the undeniable fact. Its significance is partly as an illustration of the curious possibilities of the English mind, which despises or pities a schoolmaster, while it says he has the future of the country in his hands and undertakes the greatest of responsibilities. But far more significant is this, that the general contempt does no more than express the distaste for their work that is general among teachers themselves."

There are probably many causes for this lack of esteem for the teacher's profession. There are a number of superficial answers to our question, citing one or more of these causes. It may be said that teachers do not go into the scholastic profession as a life-work; that their remuneration is inadequate; and that they are not left free in their work,

[1] See "The International Journal of Ethics" for October, 1895.

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nor allowed to regulate matters pertaining to their calling, as are members of other professions. These things are probably all true enough. But why are they true?

I believe that there are two efficient causes, as one says in logic, for the low standing of the teacher's calling. Both have been suggested by Mr. Mitchell, perhaps by others. First, we have the type of education actually given in the schools. It is the general consensus of educators that the end or purpose of education is to form character in the widest sense—intellectual, æsthetic, and moral—and that the function of school education is to develop interests which shall gradually become spontaneous and permanent, so that schooling will no longer be necessary. Now the education actually given in the schools is often of a character very different from this. It consists in the mere acquisition of knowledge; and the teacher's work is the mere teaching of many subjects. To raise the culture of the teacher and to change this type of education would be the first step toward raising the teaching profession.

The second cause of the low standing of the teacher's calling is lack of extended professional training. Professions easily entered are not usually highly respected. The medical profession has been cited as an illustration. Not long ago, when one could be a physician without special training, the profession was not very highly esteemed. Now, when extended training is demanded both by public opinion and by law, the profession is respected as one of the highest. In like manner, the teaching profession would undoubtedly increase in favor, were training of a high order demanded. In fact, we find the respect for the profession varying in different countries and in different grades of the school system, almost in direct ratio to the education and professional training required of candidates.

An illustration from Germany is instructive here. Take the history of teaching in the secondary schools. The German secondary teachers represent, perhaps, the teaching profession at its highest. They have official recognition by the Government; they stand on an equality with other Government officials of high rank; and they are highly respected in the community. Here we have a real illustration of teaching as a profession. Now, if we look back to the history of these schools, we may see something of the way in which this profession has been developed. The secondary schoolmaster in Germany has not always commanded respect. Fischer, in his "Geschichte des deutschen Volksschullehrerstandes," gives a vivid picture of the teacher's life in the Latin schools at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

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Not to go into details, the schoolmaster in these early days was not really a citizen. He was very often a tramp and a beggar, if not worse. He had neither professional training nor a professional spirit. He took up the work as a temporary occupation, looking forward to some other calling, usually that of the priesthood. With the Reformation, under the influence of Luther and Melancthon, the office of the teacher began to assume greater importance. Luther said that if he had not been a preacher he would have been a schoolmaster; and Melancthon referred to teachers as "genus vitae utilissimum, beatissimum, sanctissimum."

Reforms were effected. Pupils were forbidden to beg. The teachers' tenure of office was lengthened, and they began to feel their responsibility. But they were for the most part preachers; and even as late as the last century the teachers usually had had a theological training, and teaching could hardly be called an independent profession. From the movement, begun about a hundred years ago, under the influence of F. A. Wolf, for giving schoolmasters an independent training, dates the beginning of the secondary teaching profession in Germany. Without tracing its history through this century, something of its present character may be gleaned from the requirements of all candidates for the Secondary Teacher's Certificate in Prussia. They are as follows:

First. The candidate must have graduated at a recognized secondary school,—a *Gymnasium*, *Realgymnasium*, or *Oberrealschule*, and have passed, with credit, to the university.

Second. He must have spent at least three years at the university, including a year and a half in a Prussian university.

Third. He must have specialized on one subject, and studied one or two allied subjects.

Fourth. He must have studied religion, philosophy, and pedagogy.

Fifth. When the candidate has fulfilled all these requirements, he must present himself before a commission for the state examination (*Staats-Examen*). This examination is partly oral and partly written. Or, to be exact as to the latter, a thesis upon a prescribed subject must be written by the candidate. The commission does not recognize the university degree; so that all must take this examination. If the candidate passes, he enters a course of special professional training as a candidate (*Schulamts-Kandidat*).

Sixth. The candidate must spend one year in a pedagogical seminary in the study of the theory and practice of education.

Seventh. If successful in the seminary year, he enters upon regular work in the schoolroom for a trial year (*Probe-Jahr*). During this year

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the candidate teaches in a recognized school under the direction of the regular teachers, but receives no salary. When a candidate has fulfilled these seven requirements, he is a qualified teacher, and may get a permanent situation—if he can.

We are, I think, now in a position to answer the question why the German secondary teacher is so highly respected in society. It is, in brief, because he is educated. And, without further illustration, it is clear that the better the education of the teacher, the higher will be the standing of the profession.

To approach our problem from a somewhat different point of view, let us consider the training that teachers actually receive in the United States. The secondary teachers are, as a rule, better educated; but they seldom receive special professional training. The feeling is still prevalent that, while the elementary teacher needs professional training, the secondary teacher is such by the grace of God and the authority of his *Alma Mater*. Moreover, a large proportion of our elementary teachers receive no professional training whatever. Those who do receive such training usually get it in the normal schools. These have done excellent service: but their work is necessarily limited; and the instruction in principles and methods is sometimes given with an aspect of finality, definiteness, and completeness not at all justified by the present development of pedagogy. The result is, frequently, that students leave the normal school with a devotion to certain systems, methods, and formulas which is a positive hinderance to further progress.

That the relatively low esteem for the teaching profession in the United States is due to deficiencies in preparation for it, may be made still clearer by bringing together the best features of training in the best professional schools of different countries, and noting some of the essentials in the preparation of teachers.

First. *The teacher should be educated.* This education should be both academic and professional. I use the word "education" here in its broadest sense, according to the well-accepted principle that education consists in the development of permanent interests. Certain permanent interests should be developed in the teacher; and these should be of the broadest kind. There is always a tendency in teachers to lose sight of the real end of education in their devotion to the means. In England, for example, according to Mr. Mitchell's account, the tendency of education is to become narrowly utilitarian, because prizes, medals, and the like play so important a *rôle* as incentives to study. He says:

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"The school is advertised by a list of its 'successes'; prize-winners are directed to bigger stakes; and the unsuccessful are told that, if they continue to struggle, they too will meet a good market. These exhibitions bring home the fact that we are making a market of our schools and showmen of our teachers; that, in the words of a recent president of the British Association, 'in education we are a nation of shopkeepers.'"

In this country there is the same tendency to forget the true end of education, in striving for the scholastic product. The advent of new teachers with broad training, fresh from the universities or seminaries, would, we may hope, be a check to this tendency.

The teacher is to be a leader. He ought to see his work, as we may say, in perspective. He ought to see something of the relations of his own work to the social and industrial movements of the time. He needs this for his own intellectual health and happiness. Only with the broadest outlook and the deepest interest can he hold the true ideals in education and yet keep sane and happy in all the trying details of school routine.

For example, every thoughtful teacher must see the limitations of his own work. To atone for this, he should get something of what I may call here, without misunderstanding, *the evolutionary view of life*. The evolutionary view of life substitutes the satisfaction of being part of a process for the satisfaction of completing things. The teacher who sees his own little work as part of a process gets that spirit of healthy optimism that comes from looking at the whole and of working for distant ends. The desire to complete something is one of the strongest incentives to work. Placed in a world where few things can be completed, we set artificial limits to our work, so that we may look forward to finishing our task and getting the satisfaction we desire. To borrow an illustration from another sphere, the farmer hoes his field of corn and congratulates himself that the task is done; but before he leaves the field weeds are already springing up again. The reformer subdues this evil, and gets the satisfaction of completing a good job, because, for the time being, he has ignored a hundred other evils. Or, to take an illustration from the work of the scientific man, he chooses a problem and arbitrarily limits its scope, so that he may be able to complete it; knowing all the time that, when finished, the completeness will be only relative,—that the work, if successful, will merely open up a score of new problems. This desire to complete something, and the consequent arbitrary limitation of our tasks, are entirely normal; and the power to limit one's work is even a mark of superior ability. As Goethe says, "In der Beschränkung zeigt sich der Meister."

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But, in anything like education, where the process is essentially evolutionary and there can be so little of completeness,—especially perhaps in secondary education,—the passion for completeness has its dangers. One of these is, I believe, the tendency in the teacher to become a mere showman or trainer of prize-winners. The scholarship, or prize, or examination offers a definite goal for which to strive. It is a great temptation, unless one has seen better things; hence, I say, the teacher should have a broader view of education, and get something of the evolutionary view which substitutes the satisfaction of being part of a process for the satisfaction of completing things.

This is merely one of the points concerning which a teacher should have broad interests and a broad outlook. The teacher, however, should have not merely broad culture interests, but also professional interests. He should be not merely learned in the special subjects to be taught, but should have permanent and broad interests in these subjects. He should be not merely instructed in the technic of method, but imbued with such vital interests that he is the master, not the slave, of method. The kind of preparation must be that which develops permanent professional interests.

The aim of pedagogical training is not to send forth a perfected teacher, but one that is capable of continuing his own professional training. The highest professional skill can be attained only by prolonged actual experience in the schoolroom: but some never learn the lessons of experience. It is often said, and truly, that a teacher's success depends upon his tact: but tact must be governed by reason; and the scope of its exercise will depend upon one's interests and apperception. All this was put strongly by Herbart years ago, when special professional training for teachers was not general even in Germany. He wrote:

> "It is only in doing that on elearns the art, that one attains tact, readiness, cleverness, skill; but even in doing he only learns the art who before has learned the science by thinking, has made it his own, has prepared himself by it, and felt beforehand the future impressions that experience should make upon him."

In other words, the teacher must bring the right apperception to his task, or he will fail to learn the lessons of experience. Hence it is that so many writers on this subject maintain that, until he has had considerable training, one gets little from observing the methods of others.

The aim, then, is the development of permanent interests and the acquisition of a modicum of skill. For the development of interest there must be freedom,—freedom from competition, freedom from exami-

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nations (of the ordinary kind), freedom from hurry, freedom from inspection of the sort that demands definite results in a definite time, freedom from prescribed methods, freedom from external interference by the state, freedom from political, social, and religious interference. Interest is a plant of spontaneous growth. It cannot be forced; but it can be checked. The college and the university are good places for developing such spontaneous interest, because of their freedom; and the feeling is growing that every teacher, of whatever grade, should have a college education.

Second. *The teacher should study the physiology and psychology of development.* This includes what is meant by child-study and the study of adolescence, and more besides. Comparatively little is known about the psychology of development: but, nevertheless, this subject surpasses all others in importance to the teacher; for, to acquire an interest in the child as a developing organism, and to grasp the idea of adapting education to the various stages of its development, changes the whole attitude of the teacher. It means less teaching and more unfolding, less suppression and more guidance, less preaching and more nurture. Comenius proclaimed this gospel of development in his "Didactica magna," two hundred and fifty years ago. But teachers and parents have been prone to forget it; and again and again the reformers have had to repeat its simple doctrines, viz.: That education occurs by spontaneous development from within outward; that it depends upon the self-activity of the pupil; that the teacher's task is positive as well as negative, the development of good quite as much as the suppression of evil; that the child differs from the adult; and that individual children differ from each other.

But, as more has been learned of the physiology and psychology of development, the educational doctrine of development has been found to mean more and more. It was a great thing when Rousseau declared that the child differs from the adult, that childhood has ways of thinking peculiar to itself and should be allowed freedom to develop—a doctrine commonplace now, but revolutionary then.

The idea of development means more than this. It was a greater thing when Friederich Fröbel, recasting the doctrines of Comenius, taught that there are stages of development,—that at different periods the child differs from the child, and that education should be adapted to the sequence of these stages of development. But the pedagogy of development means a great deal more. We do not yet know how much it means; but we do more or less clearly see that the different stages of

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mental and physical development are related; that one stage—low, imperfect, perhaps apparently abnormal—may be important as preparatory to a higher stage; that premature development is likely to be imperfect or abnormal development; that undue prolongation of any stage is liable to cause arrested development; and, most important of all, perhaps, that only by long and careful study and by the coöperation of many investigators can the true pedagogy, based on the science of development, be produced.

Third. *The teacher should have a special knowledge of school-hygiene, not merely for the direct practical value of it in helping to avoid disease and in making the conditions in the schoolroom hygienic, but also to give the proper apperception for the conditions of normal growth and development.* We are always in danger from a sort of mercantile tendency in education. We look at the scholastic product rather than at the child-product, at what the children have made—products of paper-foldings, weaving, clay-modelling, exercises written, note-books filled, drawings, maps, collections—rather than at the children. All these are good; but they have no educational value, except as they indicate that the children have made some improvement. This modern scholasticism looks at what the children make; while matters of hygiene are neglected. Scholasticism shows the beautiful articles made in the Kindergarten: hygiene looks to see whether the children are nervous, excited, or fatigued. Scholasticism exhibits the most delicate work in natural history or manual arts: hygiene asks what is the condition of the children's eyes. Scholasticism shows specimens of beautiful penmanship: hygiene looks at the collapsed postures and deformity of the writers. Scholasticism boasts of the number of children who pass the examinations and are promoted: hygiene rejoices in the number of healthy children in the school. Just as soon as this scholastic tendency becomes dominant, the teacher has no time to attend to the little matters of hygiene. Just as soon as attention centres chiefly on the scholastic product, the school becomes a factory, and the children merely laborers. But, while hygiene is opposed to what I have called scholasticism, it is in the deepest harmony with true pedagogy; for the aim of both alike is the normal guidance of development.

Fourth. *Teachers should have acquaintance with the actual condition of schools in different countries, at different times, and under different conditions.* That is, the teacher should learn from the experience of other teachers, both by coming in contact with their work, by actual practice under competent direction, and by reading.

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The necessity of this strictly professional training I need not emphasize. But one of the strangest things in modern education is the colossal self-assurance of young men and women who think they can learn nothing from the pedagogical experience of others,—an experience extending over some thousands of years, and embracing that of many nations and of all classes, from the great teachers of mankind to the village schoolmaster and schoolmistress. Such self-assurance is only equalled by the pedagogical ignorance or indifference of the community that tolerates it. An old schoolmaster who will say that he has learned nothing from his own experiences is not to be found. One who will say he has not profited from the experience of others is almost equally rare. The aim of professional training is to give one at the outset the best possible opportunity to profit by one's own experience and that of others.

It has been said by many respectable authorities that the best teachers are born, not made; that one who has the teaching instinct and an academic education will make a good teacher without the need of special professional training. Everybody recognizes the truth of this statement; but, as an argument against the professional training of teachers, it is hardly worth discussing: for, unfortunately, the supply of teachers who are born is not equal to the demand; and so, however bungling our method, we must try, by what means we may, to stimulate interest and to foster the teaching instinct.

These four things are certainly among the essentials in the preparation of a teacher: First, education,—the development of permanent interests of the very broadest character, so that the teacher may be a person of culture and have a broad outlook upon life, and also the development of permanent professional interests, so that nothing essential to the teacher's calling may be foreign or unappreciated; second, a knowledge of psychology, including the study of childhood and adolescence; third, a knowledge of school hygiene, that one may look not merely at the scholastic product, but also at the condition of the children; and, fourth, direct acquaintance with the experience of others in practical school-work.

Teachers receive these essentials of training only in part. The secondary teacher is usually educated, but lacks professional training. The elementary teacher has a certain professional training, but usually lacks a broad education. The normal schools are just beginning to study the psychology of development; they give but an inadequate acquaintance with practical school-work; and school-hygiene, if taught at all, is usu-

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ally subsidiary to some other subject. As a result, its fundamental teachings are often ignored by the graduates; and its rich literature is unknown to them. Further, since the majority of teachers lack a broad training, certain professional faults are accentuated; thus detracting still more from the respect accorded the profession.

The writer would like to portray in fitting terms the virtues of teachers, and to show that, in spite of what has been said, the prevailing low estimate of the teacher's calling is in many respects unjust. But the great army of self-sacrificing workers in this calling needs no defence from me. I shall attempt the easier, although perhaps meaner, task of pointing out the faults of the profession. The subject is, in fact, altogether too large for brief discussion; and in such a case one's only resource is to be critical.

Every occupation and profession offers temptation to certain peculiar sins. Even the old monastic life had its seven deadly sins. The teacher's calling is no exception. The disastrous faults, the deadly sins of the teacher's profession, may be grouped in a somewhat arbitrary way under seven heads, after the fashion of the old monks, as follows:—

(1) A lack of sympathy with childhood. This is the worst of all, and is at the root of all the others. In the case of the secondary teacher it is a lack of sympathy with adolescence. One who lacks sympathy with childhood and adolescence, and does not understand the significance of these periods, is not fit to teach. This lack of sympathy involves a great number of faults. Among these are the failure to differentiate methods of instruction and discipline according to the ever-differing nature of childhood and adolescence, and a mistaking of perversities and defects incident to development for symptoms of degeneration. Various moral aberrations and perversities, that might indicate moral degeneration in an adult, by no means indicate the criminal in the case of the child or adolescent. Again, from lack of proper appreciation of childhood—of its significance and importance—come the hurry and forcing and premature acquisitions, the vulgar artificiality and self-consciousness, with the too well-known results of irritability and nervousness, that are condemned alike by sound pedagogy and by hygiene. Thorough sympathy with childhood, and appreciation of its significance, make teachers content with the slow processes of normal development, and willing that children should be children before they are men.

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(2) The second deadly pedagogical sin is a subtle form of selfishness, which leads the teacher to determine the course of instruction by his own interests rather than by the pupil's need and apperception. There is special temptation to this, perhaps, in secondary instruction, on account of the wider aspects of the subjects taught, that give opportunity for discussion at the option of the individual teacher. One is liable to be led astray, to teach what seems theoretically important to be learned, instead of what the pupil is actually capable of learning, or to dwell upon what it interests the teacher to discuss instead of what it concerns the pupils to know. Examples of instruction that pupils cannot comprehend are frequent enough; and everyone knows how often ingenious pupils divert the thoughtless teacher from the lesson to the discussion of favorite topics. Whenever the spontaneous activity of the pupil is sacrificed to the teacher's personal interest, or in the hope of bringing the class up to a certain prescribed standard, or for any other reason, true education is at an end. A very subtle form of this fault is often seen in the way a subject is presented. The teacher is tempted to follow the order of his own thought and interest—very likely a logical method instead of a psychological or pedagogical one. By the latter is meant a method adapted to the child's apperception and interest at the particular stage of development in which he happens to be. The logical method and the pedagogical may coincide. If so, well. But they may not. In the latter case, logic should yield to pedagogy. Teachers love logic in sequence and method; but, until the Hegelians prove that the logical method and the pedagogical method are the same, it is wrong to put logic above the needs of healthy development.

(3) The third pedagogical sin is closely related to the second. It consists in using the method of demonstration instead of the method of suggestion, *i.e.*, the teacher demonstrates, and the pupils are passive; whereas the teacher should suggest, and the pupils should be active. This didactic habit is apt to become so strong that it is often an earmark of the profession. A friend tells me that she can pick out the teacher in society because he looks upon everybody as a person to be instructed or corrected. The habit is by no means venial; for it leads to some of the most serious faults to which the profession is prone,—the habits of posing and assuming infallibility and the hypersensitiveness that makes teachers resent criticism and suggestion from laymen.

The great maxim of modern reform in education is the activity of the pupil instead of the didactics of the teacher. There are but two

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methods of instruction: as regards the pupil, the active and the passive; as regards the teacher, the method of demonstration and the method of suggestion. The active method has been most completely adopted in the Kindergarten occupations, in manual training, in the laboratory, and in research at the university. But, with the modifications made necessary by different subjects, it should be adopted generally. The teacher should suggest: the pupils should act. Only a few psychologists, and, perhaps, a few novelists, politicians, and professional men, have any adequate notion of the influence of suggestion in education and in society. The study of hypnotism in relation to normal suggestion shows the influence and stupendous responsibility of the teacher who suggests; and the teacher's business is to suggest rather than to demonstrate.

The most potent form of suggestion is example. According to recent studies, one of the strongest factors in the development of children is the instinct of imitation. "If you would have your children do a thing, do it yourself," is a maxim that no psychologist will underestimate. Especially in matters of discipline and personal demeanor it is easy to lay down rules and to demonstrate the path of duty. It is hard, even for the teacher, to walk in this straight and narrow way. But, so important does this appear from the psychological point of view, that one is well-nigh ready to say that, granted obedience be taught, there are but two rules of supreme importance for the education of children, viz.: (1) Let them alone. (2) Set them a good example. On these two commandments hang all the laws and the prophets, so far as the training of children is concerned.

(4) The fourth fault is the habit of criticism. One is apt to be negative rather than positive; critical rather than helpful; sarcastic instead of sympathetic. One spends time in correcting faults rather than in developing virtues. In saying this I condemn the method I am now using. But, in this case, the very fact that the writer is a faultfinder may be due to a long apprenticeship to teaching. Not merely in matters of discipline is this fault common. In any subject of the curriculum there is temptation to it. The custom of giving sentences containing barbarisms, solecisms, and improprieties to be corrected, or of covering the blackboard with misspelled words and other errors, is questionable; and in all forms of motor-training such a method is obviously bad. In teaching language the principle should always be to avoid rather than to correct error. To drill pupils, as is sometimes done, upon an incorrect as well as upon the correct pronunciation of

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a word is to devote half the time to the direct teaching of error. According to the law of habit, due to the plasticity of nervous tissue, every repetition of the wrong articulation of a word makes mispronunciation easier. It is as if a piano-player should spend half the time drilling a student in making wrong finger-movements. I have seen pupils in a language-class receive their first lesson in mispronunciation from the teacher. In all forms of motor-training the essential thing is by no means a knowledge of good and evil, but continued practice of the good.

(5) The fifth fault is imitation. This is fatal. A teacher may succeed in his own way, but hardly by imitating another. From one normal school the report comes to me of the following incident: A young teacher went out to teach before finishing the course in the school. She was equipped with her notebook; and at first things went smoothly. But soon her directions in regard to method gave out; and she wrote back to her teacher at the normal school, "I am at the end of my notebook. What shall I do?" In new conditions one must fall back upon the teaching instinct; and, in fact, one can hardly succeed at any time without this. But imitation kills this instinct, and furnishes a dangerous substitute for it. Miss Hughes, the distinguished English training-teacher, objects to model schools and model lessons because of their liability to produce the habit of imitation. And, in her opinion, observation of the teaching of others should come late in a student's course.

(6) The sixth fault is idolatry of method. If one has had special professional training, he is liable to allow interest in a method to take the place of interest in a subject, *i. e.*, to get into the toils of a system and be unable to see anything outside it. A system is an economic device, and as such is very helpful. But there are many systems; and idolatry of any one of them is likely to make a person narrow and pharisaical, tithing mint, anise, and cummin.

Take, for example, the Herbartian system. The Herbartian leaders recognize this danger, and warn their students against taking literally the words of the master and making idols of the Herbartian dogmas. Again, the criticism by the enemies of the system is fairly represented by the words of Dr. Jäger, of Cologne. He remarks:

"The system which is designated as the Herbart-Ziller-Stoy system reminds one, with its subtleties, of the theology of the Brahmins. As an Indian Brahmin, who, before going to sleep, subjects himself to self-examination, has to ask whether he has not defiled himself by stepping upon ashes, or by opening a book without the prescribed prayer, or by scratching his head, and so on, so must an orthodox Herbart-Ziller-Stoyaner test himself. Did you not busy yourself in the hour of instruction

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with *Vertiefung*, when you ought first to have concerned yourself with *Besinnung*, or *vice versa?* Did you not have *Umblick* when you were only at *Ausblick* or *Vorblick*?[1] Did you not linger at the ethical interest when you ought to have tarried at the human, the personal, or the æsthetic interest?"

In the present state of pedagogical knowledge, to confine oneself to a special sect is likely to result in one's putting oneself in a place like that where, according to the interpretation of an eminent clergyman, Balak tried to lead Balaam—a place where he could see but the uttermost part of the truth, and, hence, could curse others.

(7) The seventh fault is indifference. A teacher is liable to lose interest and enthusiasm. This means that one has stopped growing. There is always a tendency to become a hod-carrier. In the psychology of feeling there may be recognized a law of the diminishing intensity of interest, in accordance with which stimuli, often repeated, lose their effect. The first time the given stimulus acts there is the greatest interest. Other things being equal, one never has the same interest in re-reading a novel, in the second hearing of a play, or in the repetition of a lecture, concert, or the like. Actors, lecturers, and orators are in peril from this law of the diminishing intensity of interest. Not merely that their audiences are subject to this law, but that they themselves are subject to it. They lose interest in a play or lecture often repeated. Joseph Jefferson, in an address before the Harvard students, has given an illustration in point:

"Art, as applied to acting, is to enable the actor to produce the same effect night after night, even though he has played the part a thousand times. I contend a man cannot play the actor's part too often, if he does not lose interest in the part. That's the point. If interest be lost, if by repeated performance the actor becomes weary, he fails to rekindle the fire: the flame goes out; and the weary actor produces the weary audience."

To illustrate his point, Mr. Jefferson told how Macready once asked Mrs. Warner, who acted with him, how it was that his speech, which once aroused the audience, now fell flat and unnoticed. "Is it," he said to her, "that it is an old story to the audience?"

"No," said Mrs. Warner, "it is because it is an old story to you."

"Then," continued Macready, "she went over the part with me, and said: 'Once you spoke like the character who committed that theft: now you speak like a man who has committed a great many thefts.'"

"That was a lesson to me," said Mr. Jefferson. "I don't say it is an easy matter to apply the thought intended; but I have tried to come

[1] Referring to the Herbartian custom of having each lesson developed through certain "formal stages."

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as near it as possible—to act as if the ideas in the characters or parts I play had just struck me, had occurred for the first time. But it is the only way to get into that terribly sincere style that is the merit of the performance of the best actors."

The same is liable to be true of the teacher. He must often repeat the same lesson over and over, year after year. He may lose interest in a lesson often repeated. This is fatal. For this reason continued study is necessary, so that new aspects may be seen and the interest maintained; and interest in the children must take the place of a certain inevitable loss of interest in the subject-matter.

This classification of teachers' faults is, of course, an arbitrary one. There are plenty of others to which they are prone, such as priggishness, pedantry, arrogance, insincerity, self-conceit, infallibility, and chronic habits of reproving, arbitrarily commanding, and posing; but most of these are venial or involved in those already mentioned. Again, the habits of worry, irritability, and nervousness, common among teachers, might be classed as faults; but they are quite as much pathological habits,—the result of overwork combined with one or more of the faults mentioned.

With the over-pressure resulting from crowded classes, from extra work out of school-hours in helping the backward, visiting the parents of wayward children, correcting examination-papers, making out reports, and the nervous strain resulting from the obligation to teach subjects in which they are not prepared, from prescribed rules and methods, and an uncertain tenure of office on account of political intrigue,—with all these it is no wonder that teachers are prone to these faults. The more honor to those who, in spite of all adverse conditions, keep sympathetic, free from the idolatry of method, sincere, sweet-tempered, enthusiastic, and youthful. But the prevalence of the above-mentioned faults is one of the causes of the relatively low standing of the profession.

It would be beyond the limits of this paper to describe corresponding virtues, and to discuss the details of therapeutics. Only one general consideration can be mentioned. Growth is the one thing needed. Just as all faults in the adolescent are to be judged leniently, and there is always good hope that they will be outgrown, so there is hope for any teacher, in spite of all these seven deadly sins, if he be growing. Whatever the professional training, it should be such that it will foster growth. In other words, the first essential in a teacher is education, *i.e.*, the development of permanent culture interests and permanent professional interests.

WILLIAM H. BURNHAM.

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A FRENCH VIEW OF THE AMERICAN WORKING-MAN.

EVERY year the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the Institute of France sends one of its members on an economic mission. In 1893, apropos of the World's Fair at Chicago, this charge was conferred on M. Emile Levasseur, the distinguished professor of the College of France, and one of the leading authorities in Europe on statistics, political economy, and allied subjects. He was requested by his colleagues to make a thorough study of the Labor Question in the United States—a topic peculiarly timely in France when the Working-men's party is gaining a strong foothold in the Chamber of Deputies.

M. Levasseur had visited this country in 1876, at the time of the Centennial Exhibition, in whose proceedings he took an official part. So, when he landed on our shores in the summer of 1893, he was already well acquainted with our people and our language. During five months he examined our factories, shops, and working-men's homes. He had much personal intercourse with manufacturers, workman economists, and statisticians. He collected materials in conversation, and by reading; and brought together such a mass of printed documents that it clogged the shelves of his study. Seldom has a traveller and observer returned home more heavily ladened.

But M. Levasseur is not simply an indefatigable collector. He also possesses the art and ability to make good use of what he has gathered. For three years he has been assiduously putting into shape these varied and numerous data. During most of this time he has lectured at the College of France on the American laborer, read parts of his forthcoming book at the monthly meetings of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and has given advance sheets to several periodicals in Europe and America. The proofs have been gone over by American experts on labor questions. In a word, M. Levasseur has striven in every way to familiarize himself with his subject, to secure the collaboration of others, and to obtain the greatest possible exactitude before publishing to the world the result of his studies.

Such is the history of "L'Ouvrier Américain,"[1] two thick volumes of

[1] "L'Ouvrier Américain." Paris: Larose, 22 Rue Soufflot.

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five to six hundred pages each, the most complete and impartial work that a foreigner has ever written on the whole subject of the American working-man. They admirably supplement Prof. Bryce's work; doing for our economic world what he did for our political world.

M. Levasseur divides his work into three parts. The first, entitled "The Working-man at His Labor," is devoted to a careful consideration of the workman himself in his relations with his task, his employer, the labor organizations, etc. The second part deals with "The Working-man at Home"; and here the man himself is the subject of study. The author describes the American laborer's habits, food, dress, amusements, etc.,—in short, his home and family life. In the third and last part, "Labor Questions," facts are abandoned for ideas, and all the many and complex labor problems of the hour are taken up one by one and looked at on every side.

This passage from his preface shows the frame of mind in which M. Levasseur comes to his task:

"Labor questions have assumed in society and politics a position of prime importance. Among those of us who study them, some look upon them as the grand danger of the hour, while others welcome them as the first step toward social regeneration. To me they appear rather as a crisis of evolution, which has become acute through conflicting passions rather than through divergent interests. The world will doubtless be long troubled with them. But it is highly probable that, through the force of circumstances, there will come about a pacification among these conflicting interests which, without changing the base of the social organization, will calm the passions by securing a fairer condition of things. Without being absolutely optimistic on this point, I am quite ready to apply to Europe what I say, at the end of this work, of America, 'Fata viam invenient.'"

The chief reason why this book was written is thus given by the author:

"On account of the number of its inhabitants, the spirit of enterprise which is one of their marked characteristics, and the industrial liberty which they enjoy, the United States has become one of the largest and most active laboratories for industrial and social experiments which exists in the world. It is well, therefore, to study them, both in order to know the country and because of the light which they throw on the same problems in Europe. Hence it is that I have written 'The American Working-man.'"

Scattered throughout these volumes are many valuable appreciations and suggestions. Thus, in the matter of working-men's unions and federations, M. Levasseur finds that American lawmakers have not yet succeeded in hitting on the rules and regulations best suited for the smooth working of these organizations and for the repression of what is bad in them. Our legislators, he thinks, should take the matter in hand in the interest of the institution itself, as well as in that of in-

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dustrialism and liberty; for he believes that the institution is destined to live, and consequently should be kept, as far as possible, on the right lines. He says:

"In the United States, the good will not be diminished and the evil will be attenuated, if the State and Federal statutes require sufficient guarantees of responsibility of the labor organizations which seek the benefits arising from incorporation. In a country where the right of association is entirely free nobody could object to a law which should impose such conditions as the designation of the office of the organization, the names of its officers, the annual publication of its financial condition, etc. This should be done, if for no other reason than as a means of protection to outside parties."

M. Levasseur examines at considerable length the question of optional and obligatory arbitration. He is opposed to the latter. "The authorities and the courts," he puts it tersely,

"have no more right to oblige an employer to enter into negotiations with his former workmen who are out on a strike, and to take them back, than they have to require him to employ any other men who may be looking for a job. Nor have they any better ground for forcing a workman to return to the factory on terms unacceptable to him than for making him a slave, or for shutting him up in the workhouse. This is the true legal view. The contrary doctrine infringes on liberty and property rights. And even the obligation to hand over the dispute to an arbitrator does not escape from this same adverse criticism."

Looked at from a moral standpoint, M. Levasseur does not consider that the question differs from its legal aspect. It is simply wider and deeper. The duration of the relations between workman and employer may have brought about a situation which, in the best interests of society, industry, and the individuals, should be maintained. It is desirable, therefore, to secure a reconciliation. But, as in the case of the falling out of two friends, there is ground only for a kindly intervention which is not forced on the parties and which, if acceptable, owes its efficacy wholly to the consent of these parties. "It is a case," says M. Levasseur, "of unconstrained conciliation leading, in some instances, to voluntary arbitration."

This idea of arbitration in labor difficulties is a new one, which the gravity of the present conflict between the capitalist and the workingman has caused to germinate and develop. In order to show that the institution is still in its infancy, M. Levasseur gives an account of the situation in Europe and points out the half-success obtained by arbitration in England and Belgium. He then goes on to say:

"The American and English have often cited as a model in this matter the French *conseils de prud'hommes*, which were created in 1806. They are indeed a model in certain respects, so long as their members—employers and employed—are governed by the single sentiment of justice, and not by the instructions of their constituents.

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But these are not what are generally understood by the term "arbitration boards." They are called upon to pass judgment on facts which have already been established, such as unpaid wages, discharged workmen, bad work, etc. They have not the authority for calming a strike or for settling future labor conditions. They judge past acts. They do not step in and force contending parties to accept future acts. That these *conseils* exert a conciliatory influence, there can be no doubt; but, now that a spirit of antagonism has penetrated these bodies,—especially those of Paris,—as, in fact, the whole mass of the working-class, the good results obtained through them have become more and more rare."

But the Labor Act, carried through the French Parliament in 1892, after debates extending over six years, is the most interesting and effective measure in the matter of conciliation and arbitration to be found in the history of French legislation. According to the stipulations of this Act, both parties—or one of the two—may lay their differences before the justice of the peace; and the latter may then propose to the contending parties an arrangement of these differences. If both parties accept his intervention, he invites them to designate delegates for the formation of a sort of committee of arbitration. If this committee cannot agree, the justice requests them to name one or more arbitrators; and, in case the latter fail in their mission, the judge of the civil court appoints a single arbitrator, whose decisions, whether accepted by the parties or not, is made public, and public opinion thus becomes a sort of final judge of the conflict. "Though these regulations are good, for the most part," remarks M. Levasseur, "they are perhaps carried too far in the matter of publicity; and yet this French law is one of the best that has so far been drawn up on this delicate subject."

That M. Levasseur keeps within bounds in this statement is shown by the results. Thus, in 1893 one-sixth of the strikes of that year came up before these committees. In 1894 the number rose to one-quarter. It is true that, in about one-half of these cases, it was the justice of the peace who took the first step, that also only about one-half were settled in a friendly spirit, and that but two were arbitrated. This initial effort should not be treated with disdain, however. "But it shows," remarks M. Levasseur, "that under many circumstances arbitration is far from possible, and that, where it is possible, the habit has not yet been adopted by the French any more than by the Americans."

M. Levasseur devotes a long chapter to socialism; examining it in its various phases. He sums up as follows:

"In America, as in Europe, socialism is rapidly gaining ground in certain directions, not only among the emigrants, but among the native-born Americans; not only among the working-men, but in the lettered class where aspirations of an idealistic nature are more developed than those of a more practical kind. . . . I am inclined

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to think that pacific socialism finds its recruits principally among the native element, and that the revolutionists seek their adepts chiefly among the citizens of foreign birth. Whether purposely or not, American socialists are not explicit enough in their language to enable one to say clearly whether their final aim is in the direction of collectivism or communism. All that can be safely said is, that their demands imply the suppression of the capitalist, the free disposal of capital, the whole result of production to go to the workers,—all of which doctrines are pure chimeras. It is evident, at the same time, that they demand an extension of state socialism, —which is much less chimerical and which may even be just in some cases, but which, at bottom, all things considered, is much more dangerous. In a country where democracy is all-powerful, and where the working-man, notwithstanding the fact that his party has secured but a mediocre success at the polls, can cast a considerable number of votes, this state socialism may assume proportions threatening to American industry and liberty."

Perhaps the most interesting portion of M. Levasseur's volumes is the concluding chapter of nearly one hundred pages, in which the author gives a summary of his whole *magnum opus*. A few of his deductions, comments, and predictions may now be briefly given. But the whole chapter should be carefully read by every student of the Labor Question, and, if translated into English, would form an admirable pamphlet for general circulation.

M. Levasseur points out that the marked tendency of our industry is toward concentration, and that, while production increases, the number of shops and factories decreases:—

"The great manufacturing nations of the world, if they mean to compete with the Americans and increase their own dealings in the world's markets, must follow the example set by the United States and turn toward concentration, by which I do not mean monopoly."

The extreme development of machinery in American industries is another of our striking characteristics in M. Levasseur's eyes. This fact is closely allied with another, which he dwells upon at some length:

"The American mechanic is generally active and a hard worker. As he is paid high wages, he will not be suffered to be indolent. Consequently, the productiveness of the American working-man may be considered to be, on an average, greater than that of the working-men of most European nations."

M. Levasseur pronounces our great heads of industries to be "profoundly individualistic," or, in plain English, very selfish. He goes on to say:

"I mention the fact without intending to cast any blame, as some of their countrymen do. But I must confess that there is sometimes ground for accusing them of being selfish and hard on their fellow-men. They carry out the conditions of the contract and they require their men to do the same. And then, the work done and the wages paid, employers and employed consider that they are quits, which is quite true legally."

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But it is evident that M. Levasseur does not believe that the relations which bind both parties together in labor should cease at the workshop door, although he admits that the "American working-man is very independent and knows that he is, as a citizen, the equal of his employer."

The idea, so generally accepted in Europe, and often in the United States, too, that living is dearer in America than in the Old World, is not shared by M. Levasseur, at least in so far as the working-classes are concerned. He says, on this point:

"The objects of ordinary consumption in a laborer's family, quantity and quality being equal, cost less, rather than more, in American cities than in those of France, especially less in New York than in Paris. Rents are not here taken into the account, however. Consequently, the American working-man enjoys, on an average, not only a nominal, but probably also an actual, wage more than double that of the French workman."

Nor is this all. M. Levasseur goes still further, and says:

"Having higher wages, the American working-man can have greater comforts than the generality of European working-men, if we except, in certain cases, the English. The American is better fed than the working-man of Continental Europe. He dresses better. He is better housed, and often owns the habitation in which he lives. In a word, his standard of living is higher than that of the European laborer. . . . The United States is proud of this, and with reason; for it is a result that should be sought after by every civilization."

The question is again examined from a different and even more interesting point of view, when M. Levasseur says:

"The American workman spends more on his living than the European because he has created needs in proportion to his resources. . . . These needs, rooted by habit in working-men's families, must be satisfied under penalty of personal suffering and social fall. Now, everybody wishes to keep up his social position and to be the equal of his equals, and not to fall from his rank. Viewed in this light, one may say that the existence of the working-man in the United States is dear, and that, if the commercial power of money, that is to say the quantity of ordinary merchandise which can be bought with a certain weight of money, is not less than in Europe, the social power of money—the sum it is necessary to spend in order to attain a certain rank in society—is much less in America than here."

In this portion of his work, M. Levasseur returns to the question of socialism, and points out the three principal causes of its growth, which are: immigration, manufacturing on a grand scale, and the development of great cities. He closes his statements with these encouraging words:

"However, notwithstanding the unfortunate influences exerted by these three factors, and the scandalous conduct of certain portions of the emigrants, the evil is happily met by the pronounced personality of the American working-man, whose democratic education causes him to distrust the fictions advanced by the Communists."

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M. Levasseur terminates his book with this prediction concerning the future condition of the American working-man and the labor movement in general in the United States:

"The New World will be agitated for the next twenty or thirty years, as it is to-day, by the problems which perplex Western and Central Europe. But the country possesses such vital force that I do not think its vigorous constitution will be debilitated thereby. At bottom, there is in the American people a certain conservative spirit which it will cling to in the midst of these incessant agitations. . . . It is not astonished at a new thing, and does not hesitate to try every experiment. It is not long deceived by sonorous words, if they are found to be empty. In politics, it loves the concrete democracy which heaves in its breast, producing tumultuous and disquieting agitations. But up to the present time there has never been but a momentary overflow when democracy has returned to the bed of reason and gone on its prosperous course again. The American people has faith in its own destiny as well as in progress, and, somewhat intoxicated by its prodigious good fortune, finds pleasure in the belief that in its hand is the sceptre of civilization. This optimistic faith is a barrier against all systems of violent revolution. I do not doubt that in the twentieth century, notwithstanding the troubles that may come, the prosperity of the United States will go on increasing. If this new century does not succeed in solving the pending questions—in which respect it will only resemble the nineteenth—it will very probably ameliorate, in more than one respect, the present condition of the working-classes, as this century has done, especially the second half of it; and I can, with the same confidence that the Americans have in their future, say of their industrial interests and the problems attached thereto, 'Fata viam invenient.' "

THEODORE STANTON.

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HAVE WE STILL NEED OF POETRY?

HOWEVER bright the nimbus that still invests the great poetry of the past, it seems to be very generally felt that in our time the art has fallen upon evil days of waning influence and decadent production. It would appear that poetry is no longer a power in the lives of men, but, at the best, merely the delight of refined connoisseurs,—a competitor of rare orchids and delicate china. All admit that the connoisseurs are pretty numerous, and that there is no sign that the springs of production are drying up. On the contrary, it is a well-understood fact that a much larger number of persons than ever before can now make verses that are pretty good. The paragrapher must have his fling at our magazine poetry; but the fact remains that not a little of it, taken as it runs, is really better, from an artistic point of view, than much that can be found in the pages of the Immortals. This is something that the pessimist ought not to forget, since it testifies that, in spite of all the adverse influences of which we hear so much, the poetic art is really loved and cultivated by many. And publishers corroborate the evidence.

On the other hand, there is no denying that the great bulk of our newest poetry seems to lack the sovereign quality of inevitableness. It is not the spontaneous overflow of a burdened soul, often not even the product of a rapt mood: it is a spray which sparkles prettily in the sunlight, perhaps, but is well understood by the judicious to have been pumped up from a hidden reservoir of artificial emotion. Its note, at the best, is the note of clever craftsmanship rather than of weighty utterance. Here, perhaps, it gives mellifluous expression to some strange conceit that never would have occurred to anyone not on the lookout for strange conceits. There, it takes a theme which really lies near to the general heart, and proceeds to spin out of it a web of fantastic and impossible emotion. Again, it feigns a fervid excitement over some simple matter which the most of us do not find exciting at all. I say these things, fully aware that the description is not universally apt. How could it be when one is attempting to generalize upon so large a subject? There is some recent verse which is neither hollow

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nor far-fetched nor tuneful trifling; and let us by all means cultivate thankfulness for the blessings we enjoy, and keep hearts and minds open to the poets who are yet with us.

But, with all due respect to the lights that are still burning, it must be said—and they themselves would be the first to admit—that they do not shine with the full-orbed lustre of their forebears. The vocation of the poet—it is now usually an avocation—has lost somewhat of its old impressiveness. Wordsworth and Tennyson and Browning and Longfellow and Lowell have no living successors whom the mantle of the seer seems perfectly to fit. It is hard to think of Swinburne Societies as a possible development of the future; and Mr. Aldrich, conscientious and delightful artist as he is,—*Serus in cælum redeat!*—has always seemed to possess, rather than to be possessed by, his art. When the present Laureate of England was invested with the bays of Tennyson, well-informed people in two hemispheres might have been heard whispering to each other, "Who *is* Alfred Austin?" And yet Mr. Austin is a poet of many volumes and, of course, undeniable gifts. Nor is it in the English-speaking world alone that the poetic art is now represented in the upper altitudes by clever artificers who sing for each other and for connoisseurs, —ministering to a fastidious taste for novel emotions and graceful effects, —but are not taken very seriously by the great serious public because of a rooted suspicion that they have nothing of importance to say.

Now all this invites speculation, and suggests many a query which one would like to put to the sphinx of evolution. What is the matter? Is the fault with the public, with the poets, or with the times? What are the real causes of the decline we seem to notice in the prestige and influence of verse? Are the causes ephemeral? It is a well-known fact of literary history that periods of magnificent production alternate more or less regularly with periods of comparative sterility, and that the sterile periods are very apt to be characterized by excessive attention to the matters of form and technic. Are we living now in one of those less-favored epochs from which we may reasonably hope to emerge pretty soon into a new renaissance of great creation, or have we reached a final level? Have we, as many seem to think, entered at last upon an era in which verse-making is to have only the status of an elegant amusement, while the really soul-stirring things will find expression in prose? Or may we look forward to new triumphs of song like those we have known in the past? To put the problem in the only form which admits of any discussion that is not pure guesswork: Are

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there any far-reaching influences at work in these latter days which bode a lasting impairment of the prestige and influence of poetry?

Whenever the horoscope of poetry is darkly cast, whether in gloom or in glee, we usually hear such things as the following: "Ours is a practical age given to money-grubbing and utilitarianism; and its character, as thus defined, tends to become more pronounced with the lapse of time. We have little time for dreams and fancies; and our children will have less." Again, the scientific spirit is made in some way responsible for the blight; and as science has no doubt come to stay, and to dominate our minds more and more, a glacial epoch for poetry is evidently impending. Still more often, probably, it is urged that life is a tremendously solemn thing, and grows more solemn as we comprehend it better in the light of a new science and a new ethics. There is work to do for serious people; and poetry is frivolous play.

Now I have no intention of traversing systematically all the ground marked off by these lines of observation. In most of its aspects the subject has been pretty thoroughly debated. But there are two or three that suggest some considerations which seem worth presenting.

And first, this of the frivolity of poetry is interesting. The attitude of Carlyle is well remembered. His rugged nature demanded a stern grapple with what he called realities, and could not brook the jingling rhymester peddling bon-bons and rose-water to a wicked and perverse generation that needed the bread of life. So, too, Count Tolstoï is an enemy of poetry in metrical form; but his point of view is a little different. He holds that rhythm and rhyme chain down thought, and that whatever interferes with the complete expression of the idea is an evil. Therefore he regards the decline in our esteem for verse as an evidence of progress, a sign that we are putting away childish things and becoming sensible. This way of looking at the matter, whether Carlyle's or Tolstoï's, is well enough brought out by one of the speakers in George Eliot's poem, "A College Breakfast-party," in which scorn is poured upon our modern art and poesy under the image of

> . . . "two stalwart greybeards, imbecile,
> With limbs still active, playing at belief
> That hunt the slipper, football, hide-and-seek,
> Are sweetly merry, donning pinafores
> And lisping emulously in their speech."

With regard to all this, it seems pertinent, if not profound, to remark, that whether poetry, in its relation to the ideals and aspirations of an epoch, is frivolous or not depends not on the nature of things,

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but upon the nature of the poetry. At the very time when Carlyle was pronouncing verse an anachronism, Tennyson was producing some of the noblest verse in English literature. Is there any less of manly seriousness in "In Memoriam" than in "Sartor Resartus"? And as for Tolstoï's objection to the clogging element of rhythm, it can be urged with equal force against the constraints of style in prose. In the Count's Utopia there will be, it would seem, no artistic expression whatever; since rules and conventions that operate as a constraint are of its very essence. If it is child's play to make words sing, it must be child's play to make them preach. The play theory of art was formerly made much of in æsthetic discussion, notably by Schiller. I have never been able to get much help from it; but if there is anything at all in it, we must clearly regard the "Kreutzer Sonata" as coming under the head of play no less than a song or a sonnet.

Frivolity, like most of the abstract nouns we bandy about in debate, is a relative term. It denotes a point of view as well as a kind of conduct. If anyone thinks the poetry of to-day frivolous, he will probably not be converted by argument. Still it will do him no harm to recall that Plato thought Homer frivolous. Poets have always been more or less taxed with frivolity by persons of a severe disposition; and the moralists have very often been wrong. About the middle of the last century there was in Germany a flood of Anacreontic verse which struck the sedate mind, and still strikes it, as very frivolous indeed. Nevertheless we can now see that a genuine seriousness underlay it. The Germans were just escaping from the tyranny of theological standards that had imposed a very austere view of life, and their exultation in the new freedom found expression in endless babble about Chloe and kisses and vine-wreaths; the chorus being swelled by many steady-going citizens, who really kept their service of love and wine within the limits of law and propriety. Is there not some comfort in the reflection that frivolous poetry may turn out after a while to have meant something? It is a large world, with room in it for all kinds of people to amuse themselves in their own way. The most that the moralist can reasonably demand is, that the amusements shall be harmless; and surely the making of verses that seem to have nothing in them must count among the least noxious of vices.

I have been trying to suggest the thought that cynical views of poetry, based upon its alleged lack of seriousness, are very inconclusive. They are nothing new in the world, and need to be heavily discounted. Seriousness manifests itself variously in different natures, according to

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the time and place. The hostile attitude of Carlyle was not a matter of logic, but grew out of his personal limitations and prejudices. While himself a wonderful artist in prose, he was a poor performer in verse, and was, moreover, inclined to see unrealities all about him in every phase of contemporary life. Bent as he was upon the spiritual regeneration of his poor, weak fellow-men, he conceived life much too strenuously from the moralist's point of view. He did not sufficiently consider what his converts were to do with themselves, and how their lives were to be enriched, after they had cleared their minds of cant, swallowed the formulæ, and become decent citizens of this spacious and interesting world. He was no doubt right in thinking that for the purposes of preaching, at least for the lower, hortatory kind, prose is the best vehicle of expression. But man cannot live by preaching alone.

And now a word as to the blighting effect of the scientific spirit. Coleridge is quoted as having said in conversation that the real antithesis of poetry is not prose, but science. If this is true, it seems reasonable, at first blush, to expect that the development of science will gradually render poetry superfluous, if not impossible. That this is bound to take place, and is already taking place on a large scale, is an idea that seems to have found lodgment in many minds. But when one inquires just how the result is to be brought about, one gets no very clear or conclusive answer. Is it that the scientific habit of mind tends to make people indifferent to everything but hard facts and logical conclusions? If this were so, we might still be moderately cheerful about the future of poetry, because the scientific habit of thought is not making such a swift conquest of the general mind as to occasion immediate alarm. Men of science, who take a deeper view of the matter, can only wonder and groan that its progress is after all so discouragingly slow. But it is a groundless and calumnious assumption, that the study of science has any such effect. On the contrary, its natural effect, under normal conditions, is to increase a man's susceptibility to whatever makes for the enrichment of life. It is true that long and unremitting attention to the details of scientific work or any other work will usually result in impairing the imaginative faculty and the capacity to be moved by an æsthetic appeal. The case of Darwin, who gradually lost all interest in music and poetry, is in point. But this instance, which is offset by the case of Goethe, only illustrates the familiar truth that any organ or faculty will decay if not exercised. A man of science, like a lawyer or doctor, may bury himself completely in his facts and problems, and let his æsthetic nature un-

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dergo atrophy; but if he does so it is his own fault and not that of his business. There are many scientific men who are lovers and connoisseurs of poetry, and who would scout the idea that there is anything in their vocation which tends exceptionally to paralyze the æsthetic nerve-centres. It is all a matter of temperament, early training, and continued cultivation. A youthful susceptibility to poetry and romance needs to be cherished, otherwise the absorbing pursuits of later life will be apt to kill it. This is an old, old story. I believe, however, that the pursuit of accurate knowledge is, if anything, rather less lethal than most other pursuits.

There is another phase of this anxiety about the effects of science —a phase with which it is difficult to deal fairly in a few words. The idea prevails quite widely that the tendency of science is to destroy faith in the reality and importance of things spiritual. If that were so we should have to regard it indeed as the deadly enemy of poetry. But it is not so. The effect of science is to transform, not to destroy, our inheritance of thought and feeling; and the welfare of poetry is not bound up with any particular forms of emotion or conviction. When we speak of science, we ought to mean all the sciences together. Now the idealism of science, taken in this sense, is the love of the whole truth. It cannot despiritualize the world: for it deals with facts, with all the facts; and the human mind is the most important among them. Whatever science may have in store, however ruthlessly it may lay its hand upon particular beliefs and illusions, human beings will always be what nature made them; that is, not primarily thinking-machines, but emotional creatures who must live much more in what they feel than in what they can prove,—creatures for whom affection, joy, hope, aspiration, will always play a more important *rôle* than logic. And this, which is the domain of poetry, is not shrinking, but enlarging, with the lapse of time. The gain of positive knowledge, which renders the spectacle of life more complicate, opens at the same time new domains of feeling, and calls for a continual readjustment of relations between the head and the heart. And so it must be forever, while

> ". . . still, as we proceed,
> The mass swells more and more,
> Of volumes yet to read,
> Of secrets yet to explore."

It was a contention of Macaulay, that, as knowledge extends and reason develops itself, the imaginative arts must decay; and I have

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lately read of a college entrance-examination in which a formal proof of this proposition, or one of quite similar import, was set as a theme for composition. But, though the doctrine seems to be widely accepted as commonplace truth, there is really nothing in it. It is only one of those illusions to which we are all more or less liable through generalizing too widely from the movement of our own minds, or from a limited range of observation. From the condition of our private larder we forebode that soon there will be "no more cakes and ale" anywhere. Having ourselves passed the age of youth and romance, we imagine that the world is growing old. But the world does not grow old in any but a geological sense. It renews its youth continually. Each generation sets out with fresh eagerness, as if it were a new thing to live. Under slightly different forms it dreams the same old dreams and kindles to the same old passions as in the days of Homer. It is touched anew by the same sorrows, and finds joy in the same old sources. Now it is this ever-renewed youth of the human heart that guarantees the future of poetry. We need have no fear of a permanent decadence of the art. It will have its ups and downs. Old forms will wear themselves out; but others will come to take their place. There will be sterile epochs like our own, in which men will wonder, as many do now, if poetry has not really had its day. And then it will flourish again, appropriating new domains and exerting its old influence as the most intellectual and the most useful of the arts. It is an ancient effluence of the human soul, has lived through all kinds of vicissitudes, and will survive in the future for the same reason as in the past. And that reason is, in a word, that it meets and satisfies, as no other art can, certain fundamental and imperishable needs of human nature. I contend that we have need of poetry, and that the need is not diminishing with the lapse of time.

We need it, in the first place, for pleasure. Just in proportion as our modern life tends to assume a very solemn aspect and to become, for the great majority, a treadmill or a struggle, do we need to guard all the more jealously our available resources of elevating pleasure. If the poet, with his bagatelles of fancy, can beguile us now and then to forget the awful burden of our responsibility for the world's welfare, we should bless him as a benefactor, instead of chiding him for his frivolity. As a means of pleasure, poetry has some obvious advantages over its chief modern competitors. It is less expensive than a yacht or a cottage by the sea. It has not the nameless drawbacks of an ocean voyage; and it is more accessible than the Alps or Venice or the

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Louvre. It does not afflict one with backache, like the picture-galleries, nor prepare the way for a sad morrow, like the festive banquet. It is easy to come at; and you do not need to dress for it. You are tolerably sure of good society; and if you chance to be bored, escape is quickly practicable. You are not dependent upon a course of technical training; and you can dispense with the services of an interpreter.

This would make, I trow, an impregnable case, were it not that all these advantages can be claimed likewise for prose fiction. Ours is a generation of novel-readers; wherefore, one who is arguing that we still have need of poetry must be prepared to show that prose fiction cannot altogether "fill the bill." But this is no very hard task. Let it be granted that very good novels can do, in some degree, the work of poetry; still they can do it only in a degree, not perfectly. There is a long descent from the best poetry to the best fiction; and as for ordinary novels, they hardly do the work of poetry at all. They are better, perhaps, for rest, and form a more acceptable substitute for narcotics in the case of those who are deficient in literary sense. This explains their greater popularity. Take any one of the myriads who read novels, but eschew poetry, inquire into the grounds of his preference, and you will probably get an answer equivalent to this: "Poetry is too hard reading. It demands greater alertness and concentration, hurrying one from image to image and compelling one to think, to visualize, perhaps even to parse. On the other hand, the prose tale adapts itself more readily to a lethargic condition of the mind, whether this result from fatigue or from a natural ineptitude for cerebral effort." But if the jaded or indolent mind finds its account in prose fiction, which is apt to fix attention on the matter, the alert and active mind has the keener pleasure in verse, which appeals more decidedly to the sense of form.

It is of course useless to urge the pleasure-giving qualities of poetry upon those who, as a matter of fact, find no pleasure in it. That the name of this class is to-day legion, even among the cultivated, is the effect partly of recent educational developments. As long as education was an aristocratic distinction and was mainly occupied with poetry and matters germane thereto, the reading-public was relatively small; but nearly all cared for poetry who cared for anything in the domain of mind and art. Now the poet must bring his wares to an immensely greater public, that has all sorts of intellectual and æsthetic interests, and is overwhelmed with books, reviews and magazines. And a very large part of this public have contrived to get through school and college, and take the prescribed dose of literary study in a number of different languages,

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without acquiring a very fervid interest in good literature of any kind. They have found their account in other fields. Poetry does not appeal to them. It is this state of affairs, I am persuaded, which has given rise to the widespread illusion, that the world is growing weary of poetry. The number of those who seemingly ought to care for it, but do not, is enormous. But, on the other hand, the number of those who do care for it is much greater than ever before, and is bound to increase. For them the art is a living source of pleasure which has lost none of its old potency.

In the second place, I do not hesitate to argue that we need poetry for instruction. The dogma of art for art's sake has done good service as a battle-cry. It was in the beginning a wholesome protest against narrow views of the relation of art to conventional morality and religion. The time had come to proclaim forcibly that art was in no need of leading-strings, but had a right to take things as they are and be judged by its own standards. But it was putting good doctrine to a bad use, to appeal to it in defence of poetry that has no excuse for being except to titillate the depraved æsthetic sense of moral degenerates. It is carrying the protest too far, to maintain that poetry has nothing to do with making us wiser and better. Thus stated, the theory is unsound; and some of the practice to which it has given rise in Europe is simply detestable.

We get our best instruction from the poets by a very indirect process, through the widening of intellectual sympathies and the deepening of emotional life. They teach us, as Goethe expresses it, by "calling our attention to that whereof instruction were desirable"; and our gain comes not in the form of rules and maxims, but in the culture which enables us to test the worth of all rules and maxims whatsoever. In other words, they teach us by putting us more and more in a position to teach ourselves—always the most precious kind of instruction. It was a saying of Matthew Arnold, that "the noblest nations are those which know how to make the best use of poetry." This means that, as the world has been, poetry is our best discipline in nobility. Will it be otherwise in the future? Are we outgrowing the need of the wisdom which the poets teach? Can science or formal philosophy take its place? Will the mighty forces that make for the vulgarization of life be able to prevail against it? I do not think so. It will rather grow strong to meet the enemy.

Again, we have need of poetry for consolation. When the times seem out of joint; when we are appalled at the tremendous strength of

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the wrong, and are moved to cynicism because of the slow progress of the good cause we have at heart; when we are disheartened by the fatuity of our politicians, judges, teachers, ministers of religion, and so forth, there is always comfort in the poets, who show us benignly that all those multifarious reprobates have appeared on earth before, and have not succeeded in making it uninhabitable. In the stress of our partisanship, in the vehemence of our indignation, we get relief by taking now and then the artistic point of view, comparing our misguided brethren with their predecessors of long ago, and thus learning to regard them as necessary manifestations of the eternal power not ourselves that makes for deviltry. And for the times of private sorrow and depression, for the moods of gloom and revolt, there is also nepenthe in the poets. It is true they cannot instantly assuage a poignant grief; but they do that which is better—they transfigure it. And this they effect by letting us see that our personal woes are not unprecedented; that many others have borne a like burden or a greater, and in bearing have not been crushed, but have found their benediction. This is what Wordsworth meant by

> "The soothing thoughts that spring
> Out of human suffering."

Finally, we have need of poetry for joy—"the joy of elevated thoughts." It is here that the art of arts performs its most precious benefaction. I speak now more especially of the great poets and of the total effect of long occupation with them. As we come to know them intimately and as life discloses ever more fully the meaning and the truth of their words, as their messages take on a personal tinge through association with our own crises and turning-points, their ministry of the lower benefits that I have mentioned deepens at last into a ministry of pure joy like that we have in the love of a dear friend. This, rather than the æsthetic culture that vaunteth itself in critical estimates and learned discussions, is the finest fruitage of the study of the poets. They have not done their perfect work until admiration of artistic genius has kindled into the joy of a personal affection.

CALVIN THOMAS.

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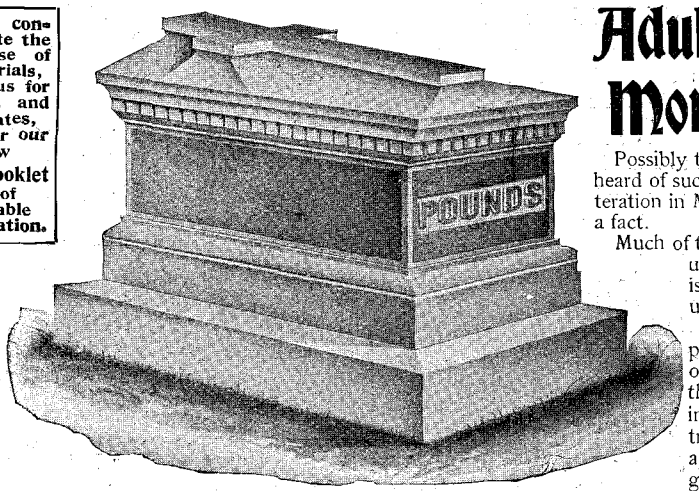

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WRITERS IN THE JUNE FORUM.

MR. WILLIAM H. BURNHAM, born in Dunbarton, New Hampshire, was graduated from Harvard in 1882; was instructor in the Wittenberg College, 1882–83, and in the State Normal School, Potsdam, New York, 1883–85; Fellow, Johns Hopkins University, 1885–86; Ph.D., 1888; and instructor in psychology, 1888–89. Mr. Burnham is now Instructor in Pedagogy at Clark University, and has made a special study of school hygiene, educational pyschology, and the teaching profession. He has visited the famous European institutions for the training of teachers, has had many teachers from all parts of the States in attendance at his lectures, and has written largely on educational and literary subjects.

MRS. HELEN C. CANDEE (*née* Hungerford) was born in Brooklyn, New York, and was educated in private schools at New Haven and Norwalk, Connecticut. Although now a resident of New York, she has spent the greater part of the last three years in the West and Southwest. In this way was gathered the material for the article on Oklahoma appearing in the current number of THE FORUM. Mrs. Candee seeks particularly to interest the American public in Oklahoma.

MR. JOSEPH EDGAR CHAMBERLIN, born at Newbury, Vermont, in 1851, was educated in the common schools of Vermont and Wisconsin. After having been managing editor of the Chicago "Times," he held the editorship of several papers in the East, including the Boston "Daily Advertiser," and has subsequently been editorially connected with the Boston "Transcript" and "Youth's Companion." He has published two books of essays, "The Listener in the Town" and "The Listener in the Country." He is now with Gen. Shafter's and Gen. Wade's commands as war correspondent of the New York "Evening Post," Boston "Transcript," and "Youth's Companion," and his article in the current number of THE FORUM has been written at the front.

PROF. THOMAS DAVIDSON was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1840. In 1866 he came to America, and spent several years in teaching here. He is a profound student, an able writer on mediæval literature and art, and has also given much attention to educational and political questions.

PROF. JEROME DOWD, born at Carthage, North Carolina, in 1864, was educated at Carolina Military Institute and Trinity College. In 1885 he was appointed Chief Deputy in the office of the Collector of Internal Revenue, Fifth District, North Carolina; resigned in 1888, and established the "Mecklenburg Times" at Charlotte. Mr. Dowd was elected President of the State Press Association, in 1893, and the same year was called to the chair of political economy and sociology in Trinity College. He has written "Sketches of Prominent Living North Carolinians" and "Life of Braxton Craven," and is a contributor to numerous magazines.

SENATOR JOSEPH B. FORAKER was born in 1846 on a farm near Rainsboro, Ohio; enlisted July 14, 1862, as private in the Eighty-ninth Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, with which he served throughout the war, at the close of which he held the rank of lieutenant and brevet captain. He was graduated from Cornell University in 1869, and admitted to the bar the same year; was judge of the Superior Court of Cincinnati, 1879 to 1882; Governor of the State of Ohio in 1885, and reëlected in 1887; elected United States Senator January 15, 1896, and his term will expire in 1903.

(*Continued on page 8.*)

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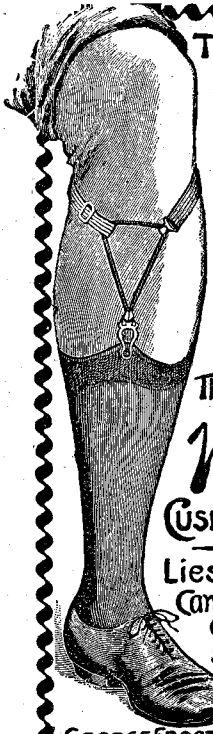

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Income in 1897	$54,162,608 23
Increase of Income in 1897	$4,459,912 96
Increase of Surplus and Decrease of Expenses	$5,774,679 89
	$146,178 31

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MR. ROBERT T. HILL was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1858. Losing both his parents and his patrimony in the Civil War, he was early thrown upon his own resources. In 1874 he migrated to what was then the frontier of Texas. His youth was spent in rough frontier life among the surveyors, buffalo hunters, Indian fighters, cattle-men, and other elements of rugged civilization who, prior to 1882, prepared the way for the settlement of the Great Plains region. During the expeditions of these years he acquired a taste for geography and geology, and in 1882, through the encouragement of Mr. Andrew D. White, proceeded to Cornell University for the purpose of systematically studying those subjects. Before finishing his course at Cornell he was called to a position on the United States Geological Survey, and detailed to the Smithsonian Institution. Since 1886 Mr. Hill has been engaged in a series of explorations on the southern borders of the United States and Mexico, and, under the auspices of Prof. Alexander Agassiz, in Central America and the West Indies. He has published many important papers upon the geography and geology of these regions, and is a member of the leading scientific organizations. Mr. Hill's travels in Cuba afforded him special opportunities for acquiring information concerning the Cuban Question.

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN A. T. HULL, born in 1841 at Sabina, Ohio, was graduated from the Cincinnati Law School in 1862; enlisted in the Twenty-third Iowa Infantry, the same year; was first-lieutenant and captain; wounded at Black River, May 17, 1863. He was secretary of the Iowa State Senate, 1872 to 1878; elected Secretary of State in 1878, and reëlected in 1880 and 1882; elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1885 and 1887. Mr. Hull was elected to the Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-fifth Congresses as a Republican.

PROF. THEODORE STANTON was born at Seneca Falls, New York, February 10, 1851. He is a son of Henry B. Stanton, the anti-slavery orator, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the woman-suffragist. He was graduated from Cornell University in 1876, and received from it the degree of M.A. in 1877. He then spent a few years in France and Germany, where he collected the material for his works, "The Life of Thiers," and "The Woman Question in Europe." Is a contributor to our leading newspapers and magazines, has given several courses of lectures on French history, and is now non-resident Professor of History in Hobart College, Geneva, New York. Since 1881, Mr. Stanton has resided in Paris, France. He was for some time editor of "Galignani's Messenger," and represented in Paris, as Commissioner, the Chicago Exposition of 1893. Is now at work on a "Life of Gambetta."

PROF. CALVIN THOMAS, born near Lapeer, Michigan, in 1854, was graduated from the University of Michigan in the class of 1874; chose the profession of the scholar, devoting himself more especially to the German language and literature; taught several years in subordinate positions at Ann Arbor, and was made Professor of the Germanic Languages and Literatures in 1885. He was called to Columbia University two years ago as the successor of the late Prof. H. H. Boyesen. In the literary field Prof. Thomas is best known as an editor and interpreter of Goethe.

MR. HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST, a native of New York, is one of the best known and ablest writers on political subjects at the National Capital. For a number of years he has occupied an editorial position on the Washington "Post," in charge of the Congressional and political work.

PROF. THEOBALD ZIEGLER was born in 1846 at Göppingen in Würtemburg. After teaching in the Gymnasium, at Winterthur, Baden-Baden, and Strasburg, he was appointed in 1886 Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy in the University of Strasburg. He has achieved considerable note as an author, principally in the domain of ethics and pedagogy, and published in 1895 his "History of Pedagogy."

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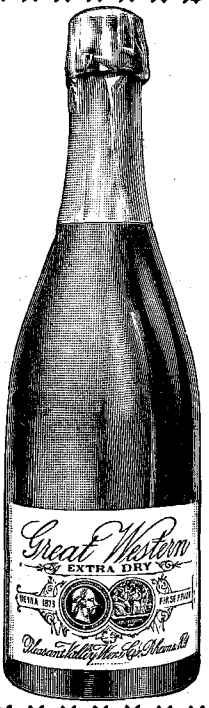

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ASSETS.

Real Estate,	$1,994,465.31
Cash on hand and in bank,	1,355,412.83
Loans on bond and mortgage, real estate,	5,906,610.72
Interest accrued but not due,	227,730.38
Loans on collateral security,	945,400.94
Loans on this Company's Policies,	1,106,580.51
Deferred Life Premiums,	299,990.19
Prems. due and unreported on Life Policies,	228,448.75
United States Bonds,	14,000.00
State, county and Municipal Bonds,	3,612,646.78
Railroad stocks and bonds,	4,664,205.75
Bank stocks,	1,064,047.00
Other stocks and bonds,	1,449,455.00
Total Assets,	$22,868,994.16

LIABILITIES.

Reserve, 4 per cent., Life Department,	$16,650,062.00
Reserve for Re-insurance, Accident Dep't,	1,365,817.22
Present value, Instalment Life Policies.	426,288.00
Reserve for Claims resisted for Employers,	299,066.30
Losses unadjusted,	269,794.94
Life Premiums paid in advance,	25,330.58
Special Reserve for unpaid taxes, rents, etc.,	110,000.00
Total Liabilities,	$19,146,359.04
Excess Security to Policy-holders.	$3,722,635.12
Surplus to Stockholders	$2,722,635.12

STATISTICS TO DATE.

LIFE DEPARTMENT.

Life Insurance in force	$91,882,210.00
New Life Insurance written in 1897	14,507,249.00

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Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	1,235,585.39
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	13,150,350.57

ACCIDENT DEPARTMENT.

Number Accident Claims paid in 1897,	15,611
Whole number Accident Claims paid,	307,990
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	$1,381,906.81
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	21,210,095.96
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897	$2,617,492.20
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	34,360,446.53

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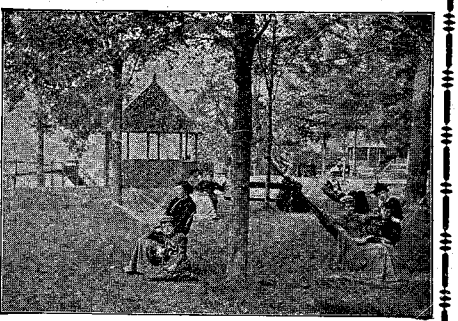

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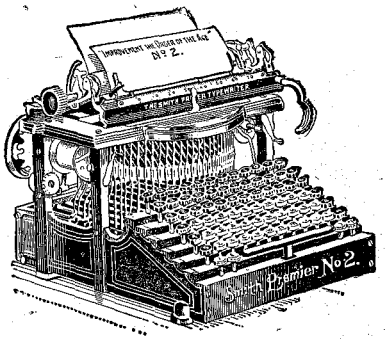

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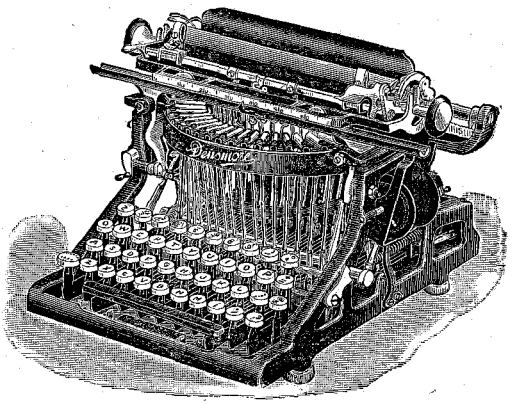

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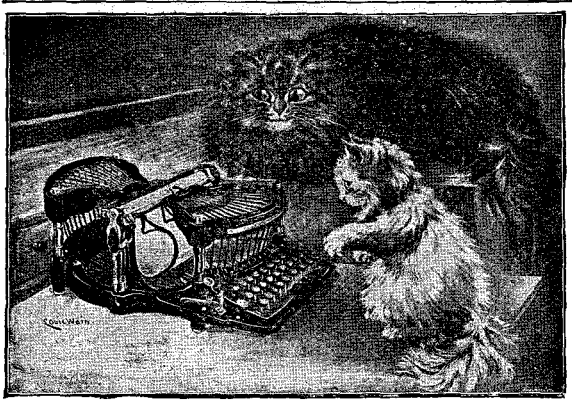

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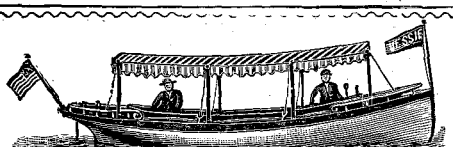

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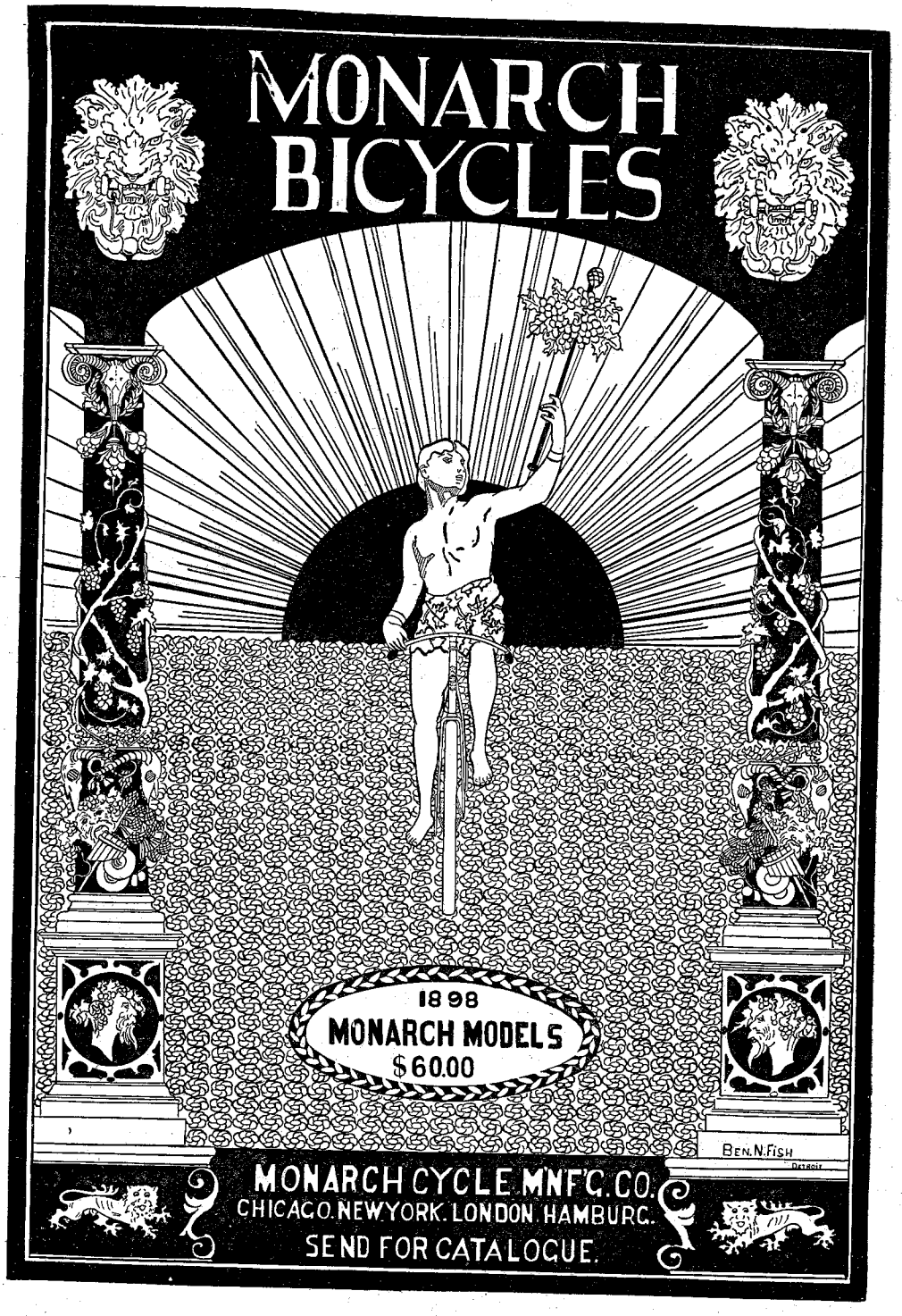

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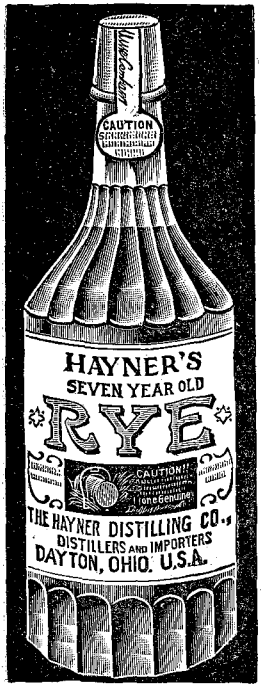

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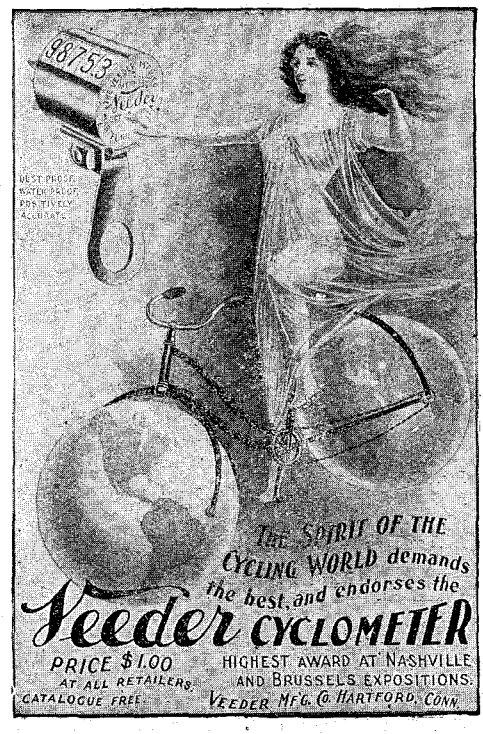

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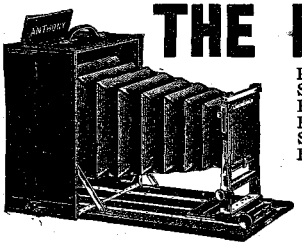

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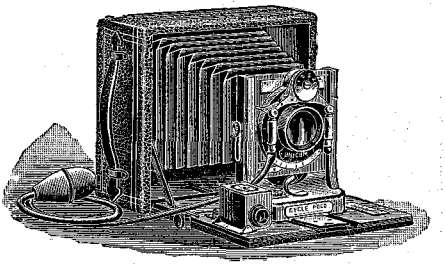

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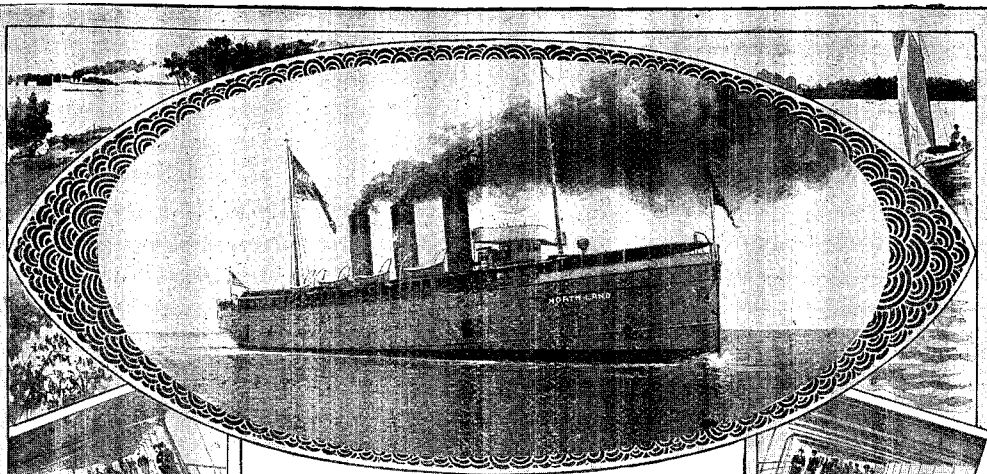

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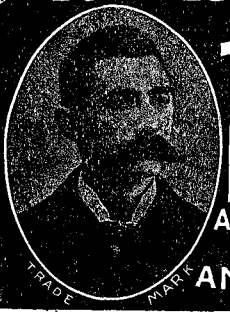

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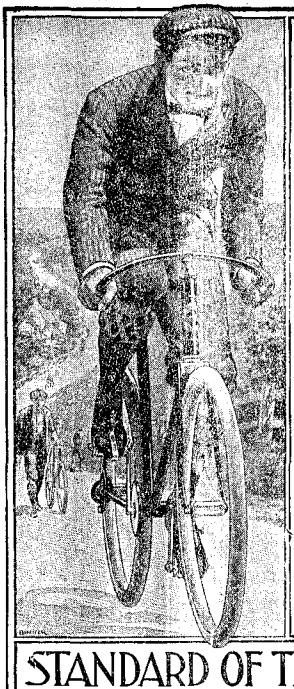

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